

BANDWAGON

THE JOURNAL OF THE CIRCUS
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

JULY - AUGUST 2003



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FRED D. PFENING, JR. EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

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THE FRONT COVER

The white ticket wagon on Barnum & Bailey Greatest Show on Earth in 1903. The red ticket wagon was nearly identical except the side door was on the other side.

This black and white photograph has been computer colorized.

THE BACK COVER

This is the front cover of the 1935 Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey courier. It was printed by the Louisville Color Gravure Co.

THE CHS WEB SITE

In April 2003 over 1,000 visits (hits) were recorded on the organization's internet website.

The multipage site includes a section about CHS history, the *Bandwagon*, membership application, the convention, circus logos, research search and links.

Web master Judy Griffin has added selected articles from the *Bandwagon*. Refer the web site to interested people who are not yet members.

CORRECTIONS

Due to a computer problem at the

printer the complete address of a new member was incomplete. The correct address is:

Brian M. Smith 4342
6938 Boggs Rd.
Waterloo, IA 50703

The caption for the photo on page 34 (May-June issue) erroneously stated that sea lions are sometimes called sea elephants. The sea elephant is a very different animal. Not only is it much larger but scientifically belongs to the "true seals" which must drag their hind flippers when on land. The sea lion belongs to the "eared seals" which can rotate their hind limbs almost like feet, making them ideal for the circus ring.

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IMPORTANT NOTICE

Attention Circus Historical Society members and *Bandwagon* subscribers.

If your payment for the current year has not been made this is the last issue you will receive. This issue is a courtesy copy.

To continue receiving the *Bandwagon* send your check at once for \$33 in US and \$38 outside US to Alan Campbell, CHS Secretary-Treasurer, 600 Kings Peak Dr., Alpharetta, GA 30022-7844.

The Influence of the Circus On European Armies

By Robert J. Loeffler, Ph.D.

Knowledge springs from many sources, casual walks and personal conversations, people lending themselves to ideas and relationships, and, oh, we receive so much more in return. 1972 COBBER, Concordia College.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West exhibited in London for the first time in 1887, then it toured in Europe between 1889 and 1892. The Wild West returned and exhibited on the continent between 1903 and 1906. During these visits the reporters with the show regularly sent summaries of happenings to the *Billboard* in America.

The Wild West exhibited on the Continent in 1891 and opened at Karlsruhe, Germany, to enthusiastic audiences. While in Germany their army officers paid special attention to the logistics of the Wild West. This aspect of the engagement was not played up, as it was later when Barnum & Bailey's Circus exhibited in Germany. The present paper deals mainly with Barnum & Bailey's Circus because there is more written about it than there is on Buffalo Bill. However, L. G. Moses, in his book on the great western cowboy, relates that: "It was during the spring swing through Germany that the old Prussian high command became interested in the logistics of the show. 'We never moved without at least forty officers of the Prussian guard standing all about with notebooks, taking down every detail of the performance,' Annie Oakley wrote in her diary. 'They made minute notes of how we pitched camp--the exact number of men needed, every man's position, how long it took, how we boarded the trains and packed the horses and broke

camp; every rope and bundle and kit was inspected and mapped.' The traveling kitchens intrigued them. Little did Oakley realize that twenty-five years later Americans would learn about the 'marvelous traveling kitchens of the Teuton army, serving meals piping hot on the road to Brussels,' an idea gained from the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show when we toured Germany!"

How Annie might have prevented the World War became the subject of endless anecdotes and cartoons.

Richard J. Walsh in his book *Making of Buffalo Bill* wrote: "We never moved without at least forty officers of the Prussian guard striding all about with notebooks, taking down every detail of the performance. They made minute notes of how we pitched camp--the exact number of men needed, every man's position, how long it took, how we boarded the trains and packed the horses and broke camp; every rope and bundle and kit was inspected and mapped.

"But most of all they took interest in our kitchen. The traveling ranges were inspected and enumerated in those endless notebooks. The chefs

Barnum & Bailey's first European venue was Olympia in London. Pfening Archives.



were interviewed. The methods of storing food, of preparing it, of having necessities ready for use at a moment's notice, all these things were jotted down. Naturally we were curious as to why they were doing all this, and we all had our own ideas about how it would be used in some way for the army--one could not travel in Germany even in those days without feeling sure that sooner or later the Kaiser would throw his nation into war. But we had no idea, of course, that the world was to listen, mouth open, twenty-five years later, to the stories of the marvelous traveling kitchens of the Teuton Army, serving meals piping hot on the road to Brussels--an idea gained from the Buffalo Bill Wild West show when we toured Germany!"

The report has persisted over the years that British, Belgian, French and German army staff officers visited Barnum & Bailey's Circus when it toured their countries to observe the efficient loading and unloading operations as well as the culinary operations of the big circus.

The circus spent two years (1898-1899) in Great Britain, the next two (1900-1901) in Germany and Austria-Hungary, and the fifth year (1902) in France and Belgium. James A. Bailey intended to spend seven years in Europe but two considerations caused his early return to the United States. First, he grew tired of the unreasonable restrictions, which confronted the circus by government officials; and, secondly, the Forepaugh-Sells Circus was not holding its own against the Ringling Circus in America. Therefore, Barnum & Bailey returned to the United States.

Bailey had special railroad cars built in England to trans-

port the circus on European rail lines. As a sidelight to the tour of Barnum & Bailey in Europe, the transportation of the show from London to Hamburg, Germany is memorable. It was the first time the huge railroad cars (60 feet in length) were ever loaded on ships without being dismantled. After reaching France the cars were shipped to the German Railway Shops at Altoona for inspection and for the attachment of some minor appliances required by the German Railway Headquarters.¹

There is little reason to doubt circus and other reports that German and other European army officers visited the circus lot either officially or unofficially to study circus operational methods. But a verifying report from an official source would lend considerable credence to the aforementioned reports. Evidence will be presented that indicates certain European countries did observe and study Barnum & Bailey methods. At the present time it appears that the Germans took more of an interest in these areas than the others.

The announcement that Barnum & Bailey was going to England was made in the *New York Times* on October 3, 1897:² "James A. Bailey has decided to take 'The Greatest Show On Earth' to London, where it will open at the Olympia Dec. 11. At the close of the Philadelphia engagement on Saturday the show will be taken to the Winter Quarters at Bridgeport, Conn., where it will be put in order for the voyage to England. It will leave this port on November 13 by the American Transport Line.

"At Mr. Bailey's office, 15 West Twenty-seventh Street, it was said that the performers were already being engaged for the London season, and that the advance corps of agents with all the material necessary to apprise the Londoners that the circus is coming, will sail October 23 and 31.

"At the close of the London season the show will be taken on a tour through the British Isles. Adequate means of transportation has already been devised by Mr. Bailey, who has been compelled to have three trains



The Barnum European train being unloaded. Pfening Archives.

of sixty-seven cars each built at Stoke-on-Trent, at a cost of \$132,000. These cars will be constructed on American sixty-foot plan and permission has been granted by the United Railway Companies of Great Britain to use them, Mr. Bailey waiving all claims to possible damages.

"W. W. Cole, formerly a partner in the Barnum show and who has been living in retirement for several years, will be the business director of the Forepaugh-Sells Shows and of Buffalo Bill Wild West Aggregation during Mr. Bailey's absence. These two shows will probably fill the time held for Mr. Bailey's show at Madison Square Garden while it is in England."

Barnum & Bailey did indeed open at the Olympia, London on December 27, 1897 (to April 2) Numerous advertisements appeared in the *London Times* but they were not the grandiose type as seen in American papers. There was also a comment in the press. The following appeared at the conclusion of the run in 1898:

"After what the directors term a very satisfactory engagement of 14 weeks, the Barnum and Bailey Show at the Olympia was brought to a close on Saturday. At both the morning and evening performances there were large crowds of visitors, so that at the close of the performance only the trapeze and other fittings in the roof remained to be taken down.

"This was quickly done, and the work went on until the entire building was stripped of its curious contents. The show will travel in the provinces in four trains. These consist of 70 cars, and have been specially built on American principles at Stoke-on-Trent, which are the English headquarters of the show. It is intended that the show will open

at Manchester, on Easter Monday. It will afterwards visit Liverpool, Birmingham, Leicester and Nottingham. Beyond this no definite arrangements have as yet been made, but it is anticipated that the show will remain in the country all this year and the next, and probably longer."

Harvey L. Watkins published the Barnum & Bailey Route Book for 1898 to 1902. Watkins penned an article in this route book entitled *Four Years in Europe with Barnum & Bailey*. In this article, Watkins writes that:³ "Berlin is the headquarters of the German Army, and the members of the Commanding Officer's Staff took a great deal of interest in what they termed the 'wonderful organization of the show,' which to them was far more interesting than even the performance. The clock-like manner in which everything around the show moved, so interested the principle officers, that upon the night of our departure several members of the General Staff came to the grounds and witnessed the taking down of the tents, making many notes regarding same, while another company put in the evening at the railway watching the loading of our trains and, as one General stated, 'gained many points in the methods of transportation.'"

This route book was published in 1902, but it was not until 1915 (as far as is known) that a similar story appeared in several American newspapers. The first paper to carry such an account was the *New York Herald*; it was then picked up by the *Janesville (Wis.) Gazette* in August of 1915. Then the *Baraboo (Wis.) Daily News* published this account:⁴ "... the German Kaiser and his staff studied the Barnum & Bailey Circus closely during its tour of the German empire, and subsequently adopted practically every feature of its wonderful organization for transporting, housing and feeding a large body of men and hundreds of draft horses.

"Theodore Bauer and George Bowles, who were with the show at the time, are quoted as having personally conducted German officers over the plant to study the cookhouse and other methods. The Kaiser fre-

quently attended and displayed the keenest interest in the commissary and transportation departments, and asked the late James A. Bailey numerous questions and seemed chiefly interested in the fact that the equipment of the entire sixty-seven car show could be detrained, transferred to the lot and ready for business in three hours, including the lighting system, horseshoeing and wagon repair departments, and above all, he was interested in the cookhouse which system he has since adopted in its entirety." D. W. Watt in *Janesville Gazette*.

An editorial on the same topic in the *Anaconda (Montana) Standard* on January 2, 1918 is interesting.

The information may have come from a magazine or other newspaper at that time.⁵ The source may have been the earlier reference in the *New York Herald*. In just a month's time, the *Billboard* carried the article, which had been reprinted from the *Anaconda Standard*. The article in the *Billboard* is as follows: ⁶ "CIRCUS MEN AND METHODS

"While the war is no circus, it's not without certain features peculiar to the big tent, such as the grand eloquent talk of the Kaiser enacting the role of ringmaster and the dismal antics of the Crown Prince posing as a military genius. It is not these 'attractions,' however, that appeal to the professional instinct of the circus men of America who are enlisting for the war. They are tendering their services to Uncle Sam because they know he will find them valuable. If any set of men can solve the big problem of transportation it is these experts in the art of booking and routing. It is their desire to apply the efficient methods of the show business directly to the work of moving the country's supplies. They have no thought of superseding the railroad men--they wish to be a complement to them and round out their activities by giving them the benefit of their ripe experience as practical shippers on a large scale under every sort of difficulty, discouragement and complication.

"A circus depends largely on its transportation experts for its success, for in touring across the continent the mak-

ing of jumps from one town to another is essential. How important this problem is may best be judged by the fact that years ago when Barnum & Bailey Circus visited Europe and toured the countries of that continent army officers were assigned to the circus in France to profit by their advice on the best means of transportation. Nor will the circus methods to be placed on the military roster be confined to the booking of transportation. The kitchen system of the big tops will also be transferred to the army cantonment, and men who have long traveled with the circuses and established the kitchens of outdoor organizations will shortly be enlisted into the service of the country for the purpose of standardizing the kitchens at the army cantonments. These men, it is said, will make a tour of the camps and offer suggestions for the bringing of the kitchens up to the highest point of efficiency, as exemplified by the circus culinary departments, which have been declared to be the most efficient of any body of men and women known."

Undoubtedly, these stories were prompted at this particular time by the presence of Barnum & Bailey in New York and later in Brooklyn, New York, as well as the fact that World War I was in progress in Europe and the Germans had earlier shown keen interest in circus methods. Thus, all the ingredients were present for a terrific press story about the methods of one circus that had been of interest to the enemy of the Allies in Europe. Barnum & Bailey played Madison Square Garden from March 25 to April 20, 1918, and moved on to Brooklyn from April 22 to the 27th.

The Barnum cookhouse range wagon in Europe. Pfening Archives.



The *Sun*, under the caption TRANSPORTATION, on April 20, 1918, wrote the following:⁷ "When Barnum & Bailey's Circus packs up and leaves Madison Square Garden to cross the Bridge and open under canvas in Brooklyn, the outfit will be going through some of the same motions which, appropriated by the Germans, enabled the Kaiser to strike so hard and swiftly in Belgium.

"When the circus packs itself all aboard a train it is going through a good many more of those motions which might have been patented. Transportation methods, packing and feeding determine the mobile celerity of an army as well as a circus, and in 1901 the Kaiser and a number of army officers made a careful study of the Barnum & Bailey methods, many of which were subsequently adopted. The only regret now expressed at Barnum & Bailey's is that they ever helped to contribute to the Kaiser's efficiency.

"What the Kaiser learned from the biggest show on earth, stated Henry Staton, whose information on the subject was supplemented by that of Charles Hutchinson, treasurer of the organization, 'was the simplest way of loading a train and starting it off in the quickest possible time. The Kaiser and some of his staff visited Barnum & Bailey's Circus when it was in Germany and studied how the cars were loaded and how the hands got their coffee and beans in the morning as hot as though they were sitting around the home table.' For that matter they studied how the giraffes were put into the cars and were much interested in the manner in which creature comforts were allowed this interesting animal.

"Revelation to the Germans.

"It was in the summer of 1901, when the circus had transversed Europe, that we arrived in Germany. The people over there had never seen anything like this circus, for the circuses abroad establish a few animals and acrobats in a hall, hire a band, set a date and call it a circus. A real traveling affair like this with three trains of twenty-two cars each was a revelation to them. The Kaiser heard about our trains and the

marvelous speed with which they were loaded. He sent over from Potsdam to ask if a few officers from his army could spend a few days with us learning our ways. We sent word that he could bring his whole War College and that we would be delighted to show his Imperial Majesty how to load a freight train.

"Before the time when a whole show could be put on a train it traveled from town to town in wagons, just as the little European shows ride around from place to place today. You can imagine how our show made them sit up over there. We had a special train built in England before we went on the Continent because of the peculiar railroad conditions and the varying heights of the tunnels. It is an art at any time to pack a giraffe, but to get a giraffe safely through the tunnels of the Alps is a work of a genius.

"Giraffes must always travel singly, not entirely because of their necks, but because their extraordinary way of lying down--somewhat like a dog, and yet more like a horse--makes it necessary for them to have the run of an entire car. Their cars are not roofed with wood, but covered with a flexible canvas, under which they arrange themselves from the head down at an angle of 45 degrees. The open road is no thing of joy to them, for it is never open, and they must always travel alone.

"The Kaiser's officers traveled with us for weeks while we taught them all we had learned about transportation and feeding. And there was not much on this subject we didn't know by that time.

"What they learned from us was chiefly a new way of loading a train. Formerly the German Army, when it wanted to load a big gun or a horse or anything else on a freight car, loaded from the side. They let down the side of each car separately and loaded from the side. Our method, we had worked out, taught them the value of loading from the end of the train. We had worked out a special kind of train and put connecting iron treads from car to car. Then we loaded from the end. The animals or the equipment or what not which went in the first car would be rolled straight



Unloading the Barnum flats in Berlin, Germany. Pfening Archives.

through from the end, but everything went through in order and the obvious labor and difficulty of packing from the side was avoided. All this interested the Kaiser--especially the fact that by this method we were able to load three trains of twenty-two cars each in an hour.

"Some More Tips To The Huns.

"The German military experts were also interested in the commissary department of the circus, which was then probably the most efficient and expeditious method of feeding a large army of men and women: 'When the circus is on the road,' said Mr. Hutchinson, 'playing one night stands, as it does all of the time in this country except for three or four engagements in the larger cities, the commissary department is ready to serve breakfast to the few thousand employees of the circus within an hour after the train has pulled into the station. The Germans were particularly interested in the great cooking wagons, which are carried on the train, the boilers of which are hot long before they are started on their trip to the circus field. The advantages of these kitchens over the field kitchens, with fires built in the open, were explained to the German staff. They stayed with the circus long enough to learn all the details of cooking and packing and then they went back to report to Wilhelm. The old guard, who spent themselves explaining all this to the Germans and who are still on duty with the circus, don't like to be reminded of it now.'"

The article states that the show was in Germany in the summer of 1901 (this should read 1900 to 1901

according to the circus route book). For the benefit of those who are not acquainted with circus officials, Charles Hutchinson was an important show official for many years. He was once a corporation director and general manager of the circus and he was treasurer at the time of the European tour. According to Tom Parkinson, Hutchinson was the logical man for the Germans to contact, as he knew everything about the operation of Barnum & Bailey's Circus.

Railroad Magazine states that:⁸ "Hearing of the remarkable speed with which the trains were loaded, Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany asked if officers of his Army could travel with the show as observers. The French, as well as the German Army, adopted similar methods in loading their artillery pieces."

The *New York Times* is a widely read and respected paper. The *Times* was searched from 1898 through 1906 for items concerning the visit of Barnum & Bailey to various European countries. The Index was searched under various subjects but the only article discovered was an interview with circus owner, James Bailey, on a return trip to New York from the Continent in December of 1900. The Index was also searched from 1915 to 1920 but no stories or news reports were found on the subject at hand. There were numerous entries under the title Kaiser, German Army, German war trains, Germany, Berlin, World War I, economic conditions, railroads, etc., but nothing on Barnum & Bailey Circus methods was found. Minitex was searched but this turned up items already discovered by conventional search methods.

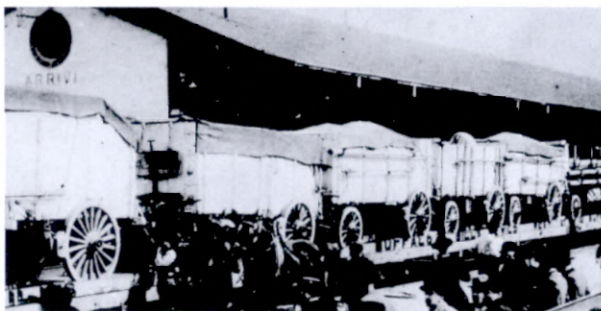
In December 1900 the big circus had already visited a major portion of Germany, moving from Hamburg in April to Vienna, Austria, by November 25th. James A. Bailey said during an interview, "That was the great mystery to the Germans--to see the big tents go up, and come down, the order, and the system, made them open their eyes. 'Das ist Amerikanisch,' they said." It is interesting that he didn't mention specifi-

cally German military interest in circus rail and culinary operations of the Greatest Show On Earth while it was in Germany. There would be nothing in the German press because the German army general staff was not about to publish documents on a subject that might someday be of great value to them, especially since the source was an American circus.

Frank Braden, a Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus publicity staff member, recalled years ago that "Next came the method of loading and unloading the circus railroad trains. This method they [the Germans] copied without change."⁹ Braden went on to explain "Before they observed Barnum & Bailey, the German army had unloaded one car at a time . . . and from the side generally. They had even used block and tackle rig to swing wagons, guns or ambulances over the gunwales of their flat cars."¹⁰ Braden also stated, "The American army, too, has always watched the circus, and it has not overlooked the field kitchens or the unloading. In 1910, a second lieutenant and acting battalion quartermaster and commissary officer of the 26th United States Infantry had as an officer a corral boss, an ex-circus man. The outfit was ordered to maneuvers at Fort Benjamin Harrison, near Indianapolis. Using the circus system of unloading, as taught him by the corral boss, the writer was able to beat all the other regular army and National Guard battalions and regimented quartermasters and commissaries in unloading his baggage train from the railroad cars by some ten minutes."¹¹ Braden failed to identify the corral boss; nor was the present writer able to identify him.

Retired United States Army Colonel, Louis A. O'Donnell, wrote, "The Germans, French, Dutch, British armies studied the operation of the Barnum & Bailey Circus while they toured in Europe at the turn of the century, and modeled their train unloading after the circus."¹²

George Conklin, ghost-writer under the name of Harvey Root, wrote a book on the circus titled *The Ways of the Circus* (published in



The Buffalo Bill Wild West train in Europe. Pfening Archives.

1921). He was the brother of famous clown and singing clown, Pete Conklin. George Conklin was superintendent of the menagerie of the Barnum & Bailey Circus in Europe at the time in question. He wrote the following about the European tour:¹³

"In Belgium, as in other countries on the Continent, our methods were constantly under observation and study by high Army officers. At Brussels, besides the commanding general of the Belgian Army and his staff, the minister of War as well came to see the packing up of the show the night we left. While in Brussels, King Leopold came to see the show and made friends with all the men."

Later, Conklin remarked about the show's visit to Germany:¹⁴ "The tents were pitched in that portion of Berlin known as Charlottenburg, and while the Kaiser did not come to see any of our performances, he rode slowly past almost every day, eyeing sharply everything connected with the show, and always acknowledged the salutes of any of our men who happened to meet him on the street. But if the Kaiser did not come on to the show grounds, his army officers made up for it by being there most of the time, watching closely to see just how everything was done and making notes continuously. So interested were the army heads in our methods that on the night we went away from Berlin one group of officers belonging to the General Staff came to the show grounds and watched us take down the tents and get things started for the trains, while another group went to the railroad yards and watched the arrival of the teams and loading of the show on the cars."

Conklin capitalized on the Barnum & Bailey Route Book account and

certainly didn't do any research on the subject; but why should he? He was part of the big circus at the time and he was simply writing about first-hand experiences and observations. However, it should be pointed out that it is very unlikely that Kaiser Wilhelm "... rode slowly past almost every day, eyeing sharply everything connected with the show. The head of the German state had more to do than drive past a circus. Verification for such a conclusion is evident by the absence of such a notation in the New York Times Index. So this part of the story is probably a fabrication.

Assuming that German Military General Staff Officers studied circus ways and conceding the point, which we do, did they make use of circus methods after Barnum & Bailey returned to the United States? The answer appears to be no, in as far as rail operations are concerned.

An executive of Wood, Struthers & Company, who served on the Western Front during World War I, related that: "[I] saw a flatcar with a long rifle fixed to it on an abandoned siding just beyond the Ourcq River where my Division was tussling with the retreating Germans in August of that summer [1918]. It was an artillery piece of about 9-inch caliber and probably due to bombardment of the tracks could not be withdrawn in time when the Germans retired. In fact, they used flat cars for their military in great numbers. [Large military cannons and other large caliber weapons had to be loaded from the side because of their great weight. It was impossible to entrain them from the end of a flatcar.] We loaded our supply wagons and artillery pieces on flat cars from the side using platforms that had been built in the back areas to the height of the floor of the flatcar. This was an operation which took a lot of brawn on the part of the Canoneers as the horses were already safely stored in the accompanying boxcar. The Germans did the same thing."¹⁵

This military officer confirms that the American army overseas (and undoubtedly in the states as well) loaded their wagons and vehicles onto railroad flat cars from the side

rather than from the end. Circus methods of loading were studied in 1905-1906 and 1917 by American army officers at the rail yards at Washington, D. C. It would seem that neither the German army nor the American army used piggyback loading prior to or during World War I.

Bethlehem Steel and other steel companies did manufacture heavy railway flat cars for the military but the guns were loaded from the side. The company did not indicate to me that they ever built railway type flat cars that could be loaded other than from the side.

A picture in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Magazine* shows French army carriages loaded from the side of a railroad flatcar as early as 1872.

A Polish refugee (Mirdza Eglitis) who taught at Concordia College in Moorhead, Minnesota, confirmed through her grandfather that railroad flat cars were generally loaded from the side in European countries for years.¹⁶

Another member of the staff at Concordia had a relative, who, up to the time of his death in 1960, was a German military historian. This historian was questioned at length in Germany about the possibility of documenting that Barnum & Bailey's Circus was visited by the German Army General Staff in 1900 and 1901, and as a result the German army adopted circus methods that were put to good use during wartime. The historian didn't answer the question specifically that the Germans adopted circus-style loading of flat cars, but instead stated that: "... practically all records are gone but it is very possible that the Kaiser did suggest to the members of the General Staff that they visit and observe circus methods." He went on to relate that, "The German army would not release a military report on such an operation for public consumption simply because it was a purely military operation and concern."¹⁷ Furthermore, "Any news of such a visit(s) would have to come from circus officials, or others connected with the circus, or the press through regular news channels."¹⁸ Other German nationals have indicated a proud German military staff

would not admit to the fact that they had adopted a circus method for loading and removing military vehicles from railroad flat cars. Still another German historian concluded that if documents were submitted to the "old Army staff of the Kaiser" by field officers, they probably no longer exist in light of the heavy Allied bombings of World War II on key government arsenals in Berlin and other cities. This is unfortunate but sadly true. Most have conceded that German army officers probably visited and observed circus rail methods, however.

Additional investigations were conducted on the topic of the method of loading and unloading flat cars, and in this regard the writer was aided by the services of two U.S. senators and two members of the House of Representatives. These officials contacted the British, Belgium, French and German consular officials in Washington in an effort to verify all the facts so far presented on this subject in this paper. The reports were received, examined and evaluated, and the results were all the same; that is, in the negative. German consular and military officials of West Germany, as well as similar officials of the other European countries, reported that all records of the former General Staffs had either been captured during or after the surrender in 1918, or they were destroyed by Allied bombings during World War II, or are still in "top secret" files. The latter does not appear likely. The writer himself contacted Army Archives in Germany, and, after a countless number of communications with various officials, the answer remained the same-

The Buffalo Bill range wagon. Pfening Archives.



-nearly all available records were either captured during World War I and II, or they were destroyed during World War II bombing attacks. One wonders today if any official foreign documents exist that would provide verification.

Professor Gerhard Ritter¹⁹ was a military historian who lived in West Germany before his death after World War II. Ritter explained that all the files and records of the German General Staff were destroyed in Allied bombing attacks.

In addition, Dr. Bruno E. Werner, Cultural Consultant of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Washington, stated in 1958 that:²⁰ "I have tried to obtain in Germany documentation on visits made by representatives of the German Army General Staff to the American circus prior to the First World War. Unfortunately, the new German Army which is being formed now [1958] has no archives of the army or of the old General Staff. These archives have been lost during or at end of the war. There was much Allied bombing in World War II."

Berliner-Tageblatt and Vorwärts contain no articles on this matter; there were many circus advertisements and reviews of "Der Circus Barnum" in the papers.

The Public Record Office in England reported the following to former Rep. Coya Knutson of Minnesota:²¹

"Public Record Office

Chancery Lane, W.C. 2

London, England 24 July 1967 "... Furthermore, it is quite possible that certain officers did study transportation etc. methods by the circus but they may have done so unofficially or on a regimental basis, without reporting to the War Office. Officers of the Royal Army Service Corps (formerly Supply and Transportation Corps) may well have done some sort of investigation. ..."

Reports also persisted that the French army officers studied circus methods as a result of the big show's visit to France.²² The French Embassy in Washington was contacted on these matters and reported:²³

"The Honorable Coya

Knutson

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C.

"Dear Mrs. Knutson:

"Reference is made to your letter dated 28 October 1957, pertaining to documentation and information about decampment procedures of American circuses observed by representatives of the French Army General Staff to the U.S.A., prior to the first World War.

"I had to write to the French Office of Military History in Paris, France, for this information, and I am pleased to translate herewith the answer. Unfortunately it is a negative.

"Answering your letter dated 30 October 1957, I am sorry to inform you that all the search made in the archives of the Historical Services have not permitted to find a trace of the French Army General's Staff concern or the decampment procedures used by American circuses before 1914.

"With all my regards, I am, Sincerely yours, Lt. Colonel Francois de Germany Assistant Military Attaché of the French Embassy."

Although the above communication was disappointing, the *Billboard* reported on the interest of members of the French army staff: "In order to test this the 36th Regiment of Field Artillery were ordered out of the barracks, and the guns, horses and all were ordered to entrain and detrain. Many faults in the tactics were pointed out to the officers by Mr. McCaddon, the general superintendent of the circus, and Mr. Bailey himself. The suggestions were thankfully received by the generals, who had a stenographer taking down their remarks, to be later embodied in a report to the Minister of War. The staff was served with supper in a circus dining tent, after which they received a practical demonstration of American agility."

Belgium, too, was interested in circus methods and sent army officers to visit and observe them on the circus lot. Belgium's King Leopold attended a circus performance, but after a thorough search of Brussels, *L'Indepance Belge*²⁴ no substantiating evidence was found.

The fact that foreign government records have not been located on the

matter discussed so far doesn't mean that their armies didn't study and adopt circus methods. The evidence points to the fact that foreign army officers did visit the circus and did observe and take notes on what they saw and heard. Their exposure to these circus practices is of great value in itself.

Documentation has been presented that supports and discredits statements on whether or not the German army in particular did in fact adopt circus-style loading and unloading methods after their officers visited Barnum & Bailey and Buffalo Bill's Wild West at the turn of the century. It appears that German army personnel, including Kaiser Wilhelm himself, did visit these entertainment enterprises and did study and observe their methods. They did not adopt circus-style rail procedures as evidenced by statements of an official of Wood, Struthers & Company who was a member of the American Expeditionary Force during World War I (1914-1918); the latter's evidence appears valid, as well as more recent evidence to be presented shortly.

The above discussion has focused on the premise that if the Germans, in particular, studied circus railroad methods and adopted them, then there should be records of the fact, but such records were undoubtedly destroyed by two world wars. All of the data collected and presented herein is still of interest today (2000). On the spot documentation is non-existent, but recent evidence (American army officer in Europe and Dr. Mertens, to be discussed) has now provided the documentation that has been sought for so long.

At the start of the year 2000, Dr. Raines Mertens (of the DB Museum, Nuremburg, Germany) was contacted in a further attempt to discover if the German military had adopted circus-loading methods. Mertens wrote that: "... up to now [2000] there's no combined road-rail transport used by the German military. You have to remember that German military even in the 2nd world

war was much less motorized than the U. S. military."

This pronouncement verifies that an American Wild West and circus did not influence the German military to adopt circus-style loading of their military vehicles on to railroad flat cars. Mertens carried the investigation one step further and stated:

"German commercial companies rarely used piggyback railroad flat cars in Germany (and in Europe generally) because of comparatively short distances between many shipping points. The first P.F.C. in Germany was built in 1960; in the late sixties the idea of Rollende Lanetstrasse (rolling country road) created a couple of types of these cars [piggyback]. But the major part of the Kombinierta Guterkehr (combined road-rail cargo transport) is made by containers that have their origin in the thirties. Before this time there was in Germany no idea to combine road and rail traffic."

Mertens confirms that there was little in the way of commercial use of the piggyback service idea prior to the 1930s and not much more was done until the 1960s. It appears the Germans got their idea from the American railroads that, in turn, got the idea from the American circus, and not as a direct result of exposure to the procedure in Germany in the early 1900s. It is interesting that Mertens places the earliest German container-carrying car in the 1930s in light of the fact that it was in 1926 the Chicago, North Shore &

Milwaukee Railroad built their first piggyback car and containers and loaded them circus-style; regular service was not instituted until April 1, 1932. It was some years after that

Flat cars of the Zoo Circus in Spain in 1926. Alfred Court photo.





The Chicago, North Shore & Milwaukee Railroad introduced the piggyback flat with this car in 1967. Tom Parkinson collection.

that other American railroads followed suit.

The Spanish Zoo Circus²⁵ in 1926 exhibited at Irun, Spain, where a member of the troupe, Alfred Court, snapped photos of their circus wagons being loaded and unloaded in regular circus-style end-to-end fashion, including the all important fish or connecting plates between circus flat cars. This was 26 years after the visit of Barnum & Bailey to the Continent and the year the Chicago, North Shore & Milwaukee Railroad launched its first piggyback operation. There is no question that this European circus used circus methods instituted back in 1872 by W. C. Coup, but there still appears to be little evidence that other private entities in Spain or other European countries adopted such methods for loading and unloading railway flat cars. This circus at least, and probably other European ones, did take note of American circus methods.

Circus personnel and others interested in the circus naturally championed their cause as they avidly proclaimed that much of the German army success was due in part to the ingenuity of the American circus even though it probably troubled some that the circus was beginning to be blamed for the former's early advances in World War I. Circus workers did see and talk with foreign army officers when they visited the circus. No one at first seemed to challenge directly pronouncements that the circus and Wild West aided the Germans in their war efforts. Criticism of the circus did finally appear in the press and this startled

circus officials because they never dreamed that they would be accused of assisting the Germans in wartime. Their efforts were to simply move the show more quickly and efficiently from one play date to the next, so that "Children of All Ages" could be delightfully

entertained.

It was pointed out earlier that newspaper accounts stressed that the Germans (and other foreign army officers) did carefully observe and study Barnum & Bailey's methods while it toured their respective countries. However, because of initial successes of the German army on the field of battle, many of these newspaper reporters saw the potential for a sensational story and they jumped to the conclusion that these successes were in large measure due to the fact that the German army had successfully adopted American circus methods. Rather German success was due in part to poorly trained, poorly organized, and poorly equipped Allied forces in Belgium and France at the start of the conflict. Allied leaders of England, France, and Belgium had undertaken a tremendous task without adequate financial resources, equipment and manpower. These concerns continued even after America entered the conflict (April 6, 1917). On the other hand, Germany entered the war with a highly trained, highly skilled, and highly motivated and efficient fighting force and with a conviction of victory. The mindset of the Allies was and always has been one of peace.

There was some fallout from the stories about the aid supposedly given the German army. Letters were written to newspaper editors. Cartoons were published, and one provided by Paul Horsman is reproduced herein. Actually, there seemed to be no great reaction to the accusations; if any surfaced,

it subsided as quickly as it began. Today, with a more aggressive media (newspapers, radio and television), they all would probably clamor for an endless number of investigations as to who was to blame for such a state of affairs. The circus and wild west did not deliberately try to assist Kaiser Wilhelm in his war efforts against the Allies. The circus was just present at the opportune time and place for the Germans and others to observe circus methods. The circus was there to entertain people, which it did superbly.

Turning to related matters in the United States, a supposed member of the Associated Press (Mr. Hock) supposedly informed General C. T. Humphrey, Quartermaster General of the United States Army, about circus "cooking and feeding" as well as transportation methods of the circus, and he felt that these operations might be of interest to the United States Army. (Unfortunately, the Associated Press has been unable to verify that Hock ever worked for their organization.) Hock's name does appear in correspondence of the Commissary General on November 24, 1905, and it is difficult to understand why this officer mentioned Hock's name if Hock wasn't a legitimate member of the Associated Press. He apparently provided Humphrey with, at best, interesting data, even if it wasn't considered too valuable at first. Hock was probably employed by another news service such as Reuters or even a prominent newspaper. It seems clear that Hock, whoever he was, was knowledgeable about circus methods and he thought

A field kitchen of the 402nd Telegraph Battalion just prior to World War I. General Services Administration Archives.





The 141st Engineering Battalion in Valley City, North Dakota loaded these trucks on piggyback cars on December 11 and 12, 1999 for shipment to Kosovo. Photo from FORUM Communications, Bruce Crummy, photographer.

these would be of value to the army. (It will be pointed out shortly that there was uncertainty on the part of the army as to which large circus they should deal with--Ringling Brothers or Barnum & Bailey. Unfamiliarity leads to mistakes.) Another circus source identified the informant as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt (1897-1898; president 1901-1905). It was more logical that Secretary Roosevelt was the man to discuss such matters with the Quartermaster Corps, but undoubtedly both men were involved. At any rate, Humphrey, in turn, had conversations with Henry G. Sharpe, Commissary General of the Army, who then informed newly appointed (1904) Secretary of War, William Howard Taft (who later became President, 1908-1912) about circus methods of feeding large numbers of men as well as the methods used by the circus to load and unload flat cars in a relatively short time. As a result of Taft's interest, an order was issued whereby two army officers, Captain James Addison Logan, Jr., and Major I. W. Littell, were assigned the task of observing and studying circus operational methods. It is important to this history to learn if Secretary Taft's papers contain confirming information about his role in the circus project. After searching these papers, the investigating agency reported that: "... we have checked our guides and indexes to the William Howard Taft papers and the Theodore Roosevelt papers for correspondence or memoranda of

the four officers you listed in your letter. Although we found 23 letters of General Sharpe, two of Colonel Brainard and one of Major Littell, none of the letters contained a possible investigation of the Barnum & Bailey Circus in

1906."²⁶

Recently (2000) the librarian at the United States Army Military History Institute (Carlisle, Barracks, Pennsylvania) provided a document entitled *Troop Movements on the American Railroads During the Great War* (1920-1921--World War I), by R. H. McLean. This treatise is valuable in that the author points out that in 1898 the Quartermaster Corps became interested in doing something about improving and updating the transportation methods. The Spanish American War provided the impetus for this study. Certainly Taft and Teddy Roosevelt were aware of the 1898 proposals, so when they were informed of the clockwise efficiency of the loading and unloading operations of the two largest circuses in America at the time, they became interested in learning more about this operation and they probably hoped such circus methods would possibly be adapted to military needs. Furthermore, prior to, during, and after WW I, "Where conditions warranted it, the troop property and animals were loaded on a special train with only a few soldiers. In other cases the troop train was comprised not only of tourist sleepers . . . and box-cars for their impediments, but also of flat-cars for vehicles and stock-cars for the animals."²⁷ Nowhere does McLean mention any sort of specialized flatcar such as piggyback flat cars; hence, it is concluded there were none in use. Generally the armed forces used rail cars of the nation's railroads, and it was not until the 1960s that they utilized some piggyback flat cars. It is worthwhile to quote from the above document: "The Spanish-American War (1898) demonstrated the necessity for reform in the War Department's methods of dealing with the impor-

tant problems of military transportation. During that emergency there seems to have been very little cooperation between the railroads of the country and the government. It was not until July 18, 1898, more than three months after war was declared, that the Transportation Division of the Quartermaster's Department was created and charged with the supervision and control of all rail and water transportation (General Order no. 122, War Depart., Aug. 18, 1898).

"A few years after the Spanish-American War, the Quartermaster General's Office and the transportation companies began to coordinate their efforts and work together more cordially and more effectively than in 1898. In 1905, and again in 1921, arrangements were made regarding the handling of troops and supplies. On October 26, 1915, upon the recommendations of the Quartermaster General's Office, the Secretary of War suggested that the American Railway Association [later American Association of Railroads] established a 'committee on military transportation to whom the department could look for any information that might be desired as to the railroads of the United States and with a further view to coordination between the railroads and the War Department in the transportation of troops and supplies of the United States.' All of these changes were the result of either an actual war or the threat of war (it was thought it may be necessary to intervene in Mexico, 1914). Obviously this was a disappointment, but only a brief setback for this writer. The General Services Administration, Archives and Record Service was contacted and information from them showed that negotiations between the army and the circus got underway in 1905 with the following communication:²⁸

"WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE COMMISSARY
GENERAL
WASHINGTON

"To: Lieut. Col. D.L. Brainard,
D.C.G. (No. 173775) D.

November 24, 1905
Purchasing Commissary,
New York, N.Y.

"Colonel: I believe that one or more of the large traveling circuses makes its headquarters at Bridgeport,

Conn., and it has been suggested to me by Mr. Hock of the Associated Press, that they have facilities for cooking and feeding their employees while on tour through the country, and it is thought that these facilities might be very adaptable for the purpose of troops in the field, or some modification of the same, or at least afford some valuable suggestions to us.

"Will you please endeavor to get into correspondence with the manager of one or more circuses, and ascertain if he keeps his appliances there at Bridgeport, and whether it is possible to inspect the same while laid up there in Winter Quarters?"

Very respectfully, Commissary General

Mailed Nov. 26, 1905"

The following communication was sent from the Purchasing Commissary, at New York City, to the Commissary General at Washington, D.C.:

"To: Commissary General, 173775 War Department

"From: Office of Purchasing Commissary

New York City

December 4, 1905

"Capt. E.H. Pomroy, U.S.A.

"Has interviewed Mr. Geo. Arlington, Gen. Manager of the Barnum & Bailey Circus, with the view of ascertaining whether the appliances used by them in feeding their employees could now be inspected at Bridgeport. Mr. Arlington suggests that the best time for witnessing a demonstration would be when the circus is at Jersey City, next spring."

This project was carried one step further:²⁹

"Office of the Purchasing Commissary, U.S.A.

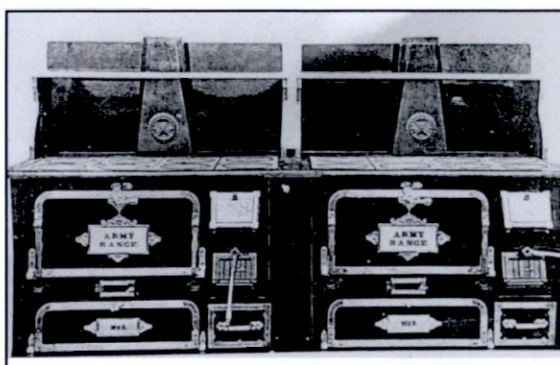
30 Whitehall Street

New York City, December 4, 1905

"Respectfully forwarded to the Commissary General, U.S. Army, Washington, D. C., reference being had to letter from the office of the Commissary General, dated November 24 (173775).

"When Barnum & Bailey's Circus is at Jersey City, the feeding of the employees will be investigated and a report rendered.

Lieut. Colonel, O.C.G., U.S.A.



Often the U. S. Army Range No. 5, as well as No. 3, were positioned side by side. They were manufactured by the Quad Stove Company. Author's collection.

Purchasing Commissary, 1012 - R. (Received back O.C.G. Dec. 5, 1905)"

Commissary General Henry Sharpe directed the following communication to the Military Secretary [unnamed at this point] of the United States War Department on May 12, 1906. One of the officers who had been selected to work with Barnum & Bailey was Captain James Addison Logan, Jr., as noted below:³⁰

"May 12, 1906

"Sir:

"I have the honor to request a letter be issued directing Captain James A. Logan, Jr., Commissary Assistant to the Purchasing Commissary, New York, N. Y., to proceed from New York City to Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Maryland, Hagerstown, Maryland, Cumberland, Maryland, and Wheeling, West Virginia, and return to New York, from Wheeling, West Virginia, on duty under instructions of the Commissary General. The travel enjoined is necessary for the public service.

Very respectfully, Henry Sharpe, Commissary General"

On May 12, 1906, the following was sent:³¹

"MILITARY SECRETARY'S OFFICE WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

"May 12, 1906

James A. Logan, Jr.

Captain & Comsy.

Com'sy General

"Requests letters be issued directing above named, Asst. to Purchasing Comsy, New York City, to proceed to Washington, D. C. and other places

herein named and return to N.Y. City from Wheeling, W. Va., on duty under instructions of the Commissary General."

Letter to Capt. Logan:

"May 14/06 Feb.

"Henry Sharpe then dispatched the following to Logan on May 14, 1906:

"Sir:

"The Secretary of War directs as necessary for the public service, that you proceed to Washington, District of Columbia, Baltimore, Maryland, and Wheeling, West Virginia, and carry out such instruction as you may receive from the Commissary General, and that upon completion of this duty you return to your proper station.

Very respectfully, Henry P. McCain, Military Secretary"

In addition to the above, this Western Union telegram was sent to Captain Logan:

"Logan, Commissary, No. 180078) B

May 14, 1906

New York City.

"Orders issued direct you proceed Washington, Baltimore, Hagerstown and Wheeling, West Virginia, then New York, executing instructions Commissary General. Come over today or Tuesday morning. Sharpe"

The next communiqué was sent to George Starr, manager of Barnum & Bailey's Circus, and in it Henry G. Sharpe spelled out that Logan was to study and observe culinary methods of the circus:³²

"TO

Mr. George Starr

(No. 180078)

"Manager, Barnum & Bailey Circus, May 15 Washington, D. C.

"My dear Sir:

"The bearer, Captain James Addison Logan, Jr., has been directed by the Secretary of War to proceed to the points at which you give exhibitions as far as Wheeling, West Virginia, for the purpose of investigating the methods of obtaining supplies and serving food to the members of your company. Any assistance that you can render him in this particular will be deeply appreciated.

"Thanking you in advance for your courtesies extended to Captain Logan, I beg to remain,

Very sincerely, Henry G. Sharp,

Commissary General."

Yet another communication was sent to Captain Logan (just two days later) in care of circus manager, George Starr; the date was May 17, 1906:³³

"TO

(No. 180078)

Captain Jas. A. Logan, Jr. Com'y
May 17, 1906

Care George Starr,
Manager Barnum & Bailey Circus,
Hagerstown, Md.

"Captain:

"Please investigate and report on the variety of food provided the men, and give some idea of the quantity, so as to arrive, if possible, at some data to determine what would form a daily ration. Also, please inquire the cost of this food as furnished and ascertain what, if any, restrictions limit the character and cost of the food supplied.

"An acknowledgement of this letter is not necessary, but please put your initials on a piece of paper and enclose within envelope. Very respectfully, Henry G. Sharpe, Commissary General

"1 Enclosure

(Above mentioned envelope rec'd back O.C.G. May 21, 1906 with slip of paper enclosed initialed "J.A.L., Jr.")

Another officer was assigned to the Barnum & Bailey Circus in 1906 to study their transportation procedures. This officer was Major I. W. Littell, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army. On May 15, 1906, the Quartermaster General, C.T. Humphrey, sent the following letter to the Military Secretary that said the secretary should issue an order directing Major Littell to travel with Barnum & Bailey Circus in order to study and observe entraining and detraining procedures:³⁴

"To the

(No. 224582)

May 15th, 1906

Military Secretary,
Washington, D.C.

"Sir:

"I have the honor to request that an order be issued directing Major I. W. Littell, Quartermaster, U.S.A., to proceed to Baltimore, Md. to Hagerstown, Md., Cumberland, Md., Wheeling, W. Va., Cambridge, Ohio, Canal Dover, Ohio, for the purpose of

observing and reporting upon the methods employed by the Barnum & Bailey Circus in entraining and detraining, caring for stock, messing employees, and any other information in connection with the moving of the personnel, animals, and baggage of the organization named which may be of use and interest to the Department.

"Very respectfully, C. F. Humphrey
C. & R-M
Quartermaster General, U.S. Army."

In turn, the legal adjutor of Barnum & Bailey Circus was notified, as was Manager Starr. These letters are dated May 15th:³⁵

"TO

(No. 224582)

Mr. Charles Address

May 15, 1906

Legal adjutor, Barnum & Bailey,
Baltimore, Maryland

"Dear Sir:

"I beg to introduce Major I. W. Littell, Quartermaster U.S.A., who has been detailed by War Department. Orders to accompany Barnum & Bailey Circus from Brooklyn to Canal Dover, Ohio, for the purpose of observing the methods employed by your up to date organization in entraining, detraining and caring of animals and employees. It is believed that many things useful to the Department may be learned by observation of your methods of moving from city to city and the Department will appreciate most highly any courtesy you may extend Major Littell to enable him to observe your methods.

"Very respectfully, C. F. Humphrey"

"Mr. Starr:

(No. 224582)

Manager Barnum and Bailey
Greatest Show on Earth,

A German piggyback flat car around 1962. Duetsch Verkehrsmuseum, Nurenburg, Germany collection.



Baltimore, Maryland

"Dear Sir:

"Believing that there are many things to be learned in regard to up to date methods of moving men, animals and baggage by an observation of your methods, Major I. W. Littell, Quartermaster, U.S.A., has been detailed by the War Department to accompany your organization from Baltimore to Canal Dover, Ohio, for the purpose of studying your methods and reporting the same to the Department.

"This will introduce Major Littell and I beg to assure you that the Department will greatly appreciate any courtesy you may be able to extend which will enable the Department to obtain the information desired. Very respectfully,"

On the same day, May 15, the Assistant Quartermaster General, George E. Pond, sent an endorsement to Littell:³⁶

"Respectfully forwarded to Major I. W. Littell, Quartermaster, U.S.A., Washington, D. C., for his information and guidance. Geo. E. Pond"

It is apparent that Commissary General Sharpe was unfamiliar with circuses as noted in the second paragraph of his communication of November 24, 1905, but he was aware that one of the two big circuses wintered in Bridgeport, Connecticut. He could have had either Ringling Brothers Circus or Barnum & Bailey Circus in mind as the one that wintered in Bridgeport.

There followed a discussion as to where it would be best to observe circus methods. The communiqué below spells out this part of the saga:³⁷

"THE BARNUM AND BAILEY
GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH

"March 17th, 1906

Lieut. Col. D. L. Brainard, O.C.G.

39 Whitehall St.,

New York City.

"Dear Sir:

"Yours of March 13th duly received, contents noted. I beg to inform you that you will be able to see a demonstration of the workings of our Commissary Department after we leave Brooklyn. I will be pleased to give you all the information that you desire in the matter. The show will open in Brooklyn, Monday, April 23rd, and will

close there Saturday night, April 29th, to open in Jersey City, Sunday morning, April 30th. I will send you a route in the near future giving you our dates for about four weeks, and you may select at your own pleasure as to where you will join us. Very truly yours, (signed) George Arlington."

"A TRUE COPY respectfully furnished the Commissary General, U.S.A., Washington, D. C., for his information. Lieut. Colonel, O.C.G., U.S.A. Purchasing Commissary."

The historical record reveals that the circus and army finally decided that circus operations could best be studied and observed after Barnum & Bailey left its Brooklyn, New York stand on April 29, 1906. As noted earlier, Jersey City, New Jersey (April 30th) was also suggested as a good city, but it was discarded for a date further along on the 1906 tour. Further discussions were held and it was decided to have the army officers visit and travel with the circus starting at Baltimore, Maryland on May 16-17, followed by Hagerstown (18th), Cumberland (19th), Wheeling, West Virginia (21st), Cambridge, Ohio (22nd), Canal Dover, Ohio (23rd), and Akron Ohio on the 24th of May. Of all these cities, only the newspapers of Baltimore, and Hagerstown, Maryland and Wheeling, West Virginia and Cleveland, Ohio were examined for stories about the army officers who were traveling with the circus on public business. The Baltimore *Sun* carried two paragraphs:³⁸

"A striking example of the strides of the American circus is shown in the announcement that two Army officers have been detailed to study the commissary and transportation methods of the Barnum & Bailey Circus.

"The War Department, acting under instructions of Secretary Taft and Quartermaster-General C. F. Humphreys, has ordered Major I. W. Littell, of the department, to accompany the circus from Baltimore to Canal Dover, Ohio to observe the transportation of men, animals, baggage and cars. Commissary-General Henry C. Sharpe has assigned Capt. James Addison Logan, Jr., to

investigate the methods of obtaining supplies and serving food in a short time to the thousands of employees. These officers will be the guests of the Barnum & Bailey Circus, occupying apartments in the private car of Mr. George O. Starr, the managing director."

The Wheeling, West Virginia *Intelligencer* reported:³⁹ "They are studying the methods of transportation and feeding the show people. Major I. W. Littell of the Quartermaster's Department is with the big



Four ranges in the Ringling cookhouse in 1895. Photo from the 1895 Ringling route book.

circus. Capt. James A. Logan of the Commissary Department of the U.S. Army is for a short time traveling with the show. The two were recently detailed by Secretary of War Taft. Both are genial gentlemen and are applying themselves closely to the work assigned. It is the intention of the departments to adopt any ideas which may be reported upon favorably. The officers both expressed themselves as astonished at the great ease with which the stupendous aggregation is handled, but would not say whether there were any special features of the work they would recommend. Capt. Logan left last night for Washington."

The Cleveland *News* (May 17, 1906) stated clearly that the purpose of the army's study of circus methods was: "... to secure the best features of the circus transportation and commissary systems and utilize them in the army of the United States. The Barnum & Bailey Circus was selected because of its magnitude and representative characters."

The Hagerstown (Maryland) *Herald* in its long article pointed out that: "This is the first time in the his-

tory of the United States government where they have found a private organization of sufficient size and system large enough or organized in such a manner as to be the object of close study on the part of any of the government departments and is a fitting tribute to the internationally famous Barnum & Bailey Circus."

According to the circus route book for 1906, the officers left the show at Canal Dover and expressed their regret at leaving, and in turn the show people were disappointed by their departure.

Additional proof of the War Department's interest in circus procedures is noted in the following statement:⁴⁰ "We have found records relating to the War Department's interest in Barnum & Bailey's ability to feed large numbers of people but these records antedate George Blood's career as Cookhouse Manager for Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey. [Incidentally, Ollie Webb was for many years chief of Barnum & Bailey's cookhouse and commissary, and he toured with the circus in Europe.]"

"Therefore, from correspondence referred to earlier, it is evident that on May 14 and 15, 1906, Captain James A. Logan and Major Isaac W. Littell were ordered to proceed from Baltimore, Maryland, to Wheeling, West Virginia, and Canal Dover, Ohio, respectively, 'for the purpose of observing methods used by Barnum & Bailey in entraining and detraining, caring for stock, messing employees and other information which may be of use and interest to the Department.'"

Captain James A. Logan, Jr. submitted a report entitled "Notes on the Commissary at the Barnum & Bailey Circus" on May 28, 1906. If Major Littell submitted a similar report on loading methods, the National Archives has not been able to locate it. Logan's letter reads as follows:⁴¹

"Office Purchasing Commissary, U.S.A.

New York, N.Y., May 28, 1906
The Commissary General, U.S.A.
Washington, D.C.

(Through Military Channels)

"Sirs:

"I have the honor to enclose herewith some brief notes on the

Commissariat at Barnum & Bailey Circus.

"As some of the information therein about the contract and supplies was given me with the understanding that it would not be made public, and as I have ventured some slight criticisms of the mess, from observations made while I was the guest of the circus authorities, I respectfully request that the report be considered as confidential.

"Respectfully, James A. Logan, Jr. Captain, Commissary, U.S.A. Asst. to the Purchasing Commissary." The word 'confidential' was underlined in pencil, not by the typist. The 1st Endorsement reads:

"Office Purchasing Commissary, U.S.A.

39 Whitehall Street,
New York, May 28, 1906.

"Respectfully forwarded to the Commissary General, U.S.A., Washington, D.C. D. L. Brainard, Lieut. Colonel, D.C.G., U.S.A.

Rec'd O.C.G. May 28, 1906.

Captain Logan was a forthright army officer as well as a man of integrity who had a concern for his hosts of several weeks, Barnum & Bailey Circus officials. He desired that his report be kept confidential in light of some "slight criticisms" he voiced of their kitchen. Logan took it upon himself to suggest the confidentiality of the report to his superior—Henry Sharpe, Commissary General.

Henry Sharpe sent this note to Capt. Logan on June 5, 1906:⁴²

"TO (No. 180078)

Captain Jas. A. Logan, Jr., Com'y
"Captain:

"I desire to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 28th ultimo, inclosing 'Notes on the Commissary at the Barnum & Bailey Circus,' and to thank you for the thorough manner in which you have prepared this report, which will be of considerable assistance in the future. I appreciate most highly the interest you have taken in this matter. Very respectfully, Henry G. Sharpe, Commissary General."

It is worthy of note that Sharpe considered the data gathered by Logan as valuable and worthwhile, and that it could be used by the Quartermaster Corps in the future. Within a month Logan's report was



Range wagon of the Burr Robbins Circus in 1883. It eventually made its way to Ringling Bros. Circus in the 1890s. Circus World Museum collection.

forwarded to the superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. The communication reads:⁴³

"War Department,
Office of the Commissary General
Washington, D.C.
June 7, 1906

"Respectfully referred to Capt. Thos. Franklin, Com'y Commissary of Cadets, West Point, N. Y., to read and return. Henry G. Sharpe, 180078, Commissary General"

The report was duly studied by officials at West Point, and within a short time the following was dispatched:

"Office of the Treasurer
United States Mil'y Academy
Qr. Mr. & Com's'y of Cadets
West Point, N.Y., June 18, 1906

"Respectfully returned to the Commissary General, U.S.A., Washington, D.C.

"The enclosed has been read with much interest. Thos. Franklin, Capt. & Treasurer, U.S.M.A. Rec'd back OCG June 20, 1906"

In the initial correspondence with the National Archives and Records Service, the agency reported that Logan's official notes and report had been missing from government files for several years. There are no clues as to what happened to them. It was suggested that because Captain Logan had indicated a "slight criti-

cism" of the circus mess that the report was quietly removed from War Department files so it wouldn't come to the public's attention and possibly embarrass the circus. Logan had suggested confidentiality and in so doing tried to protect the circus from unpleasant publicity. It is not uncommon for items to disappear from libraries and similar depositories.

Major Littell, as well, must have submitted a report of his observation of circus railroad methods, but it has not been found. Whether or not Major Littell's recommendations to his superior officer in the Quartermaster Corps on circus transportation methods were ever adopted for a more efficient and quicker way to entrain and detrain army equipment is more difficult to answer but this phase of the history has been alluded to already, and additional remarks follow.

Eleven years later (in 1917), according to an account in the *Billboard* (June 1917), the United State Army dispatched an officer or officers to the rail yards of Washington, D. C., to observe and study the process of debarkation of circus wagons, piggyback-style, of the Carl Hagenbeck-Wallace Circus.

"They marveled at the haste and precision in which hundreds of their employees hastened about their work. General Evans asked permission for several members of his staff to travel with the show a fortnight that they might grasp a few ideas as to how so great an institution is moved. He confessed that the army department had long loaded their wagons on flat cars by hoisting them over the side, not rolling them on from one end."

This event was not located in Washington newspapers but this does not nullify the account in the *Billboard* because that newspaper was concerned with circus news, whereas the Washington papers dealt with many events. In addition, a newspaper editor often deleted news stories at the last minute, according to my father who was a linotype operator for a Massachusetts newspaper at the time.

However, the General Services Administration and National Archives and Record Service discovered documents that they felt helped

strengthen the thesis that the government's interest in railroad methods employed by American circuses were adopted and used in at least one way. You should recall that Theodore Roosevelt was aware of circus railway methods in 1905. In 1906 President Roosevelt appointed a civilian committee (the Isthmian Canal Commission) to oversee the construction of the Panama Canal after Congress decided to build a canal with locks across the Isthmus of Panama. The army ordered 800 40-ton wooden (yellow pine) flat cars from the rail car manufacturer, American Car and Foundry Corporation. These flat cars were used to transport away the soil and heavy rock of which the Isthmus of Panama was composed and through which the canal was dug. The operation required the removal of 211 million cubic yards of rock and earth. A document from the company stated that: "One of the largest items of upkeep was the cost of renewing and repairing 'aprons.' Each of the flat cars carries at one end an apron 117 1/2 inches long and 44 inches wide, made of sheet steel, and so hinged to the car that one edge of it rests on the next car, thus covering the space between cars in the train and making it possible to run the unloading plows the full length of the train. These aprons were continually being torn off by the plows during the unloading operations at the dumps. This trouble has been obviated by a design of the apron hinge and support which brings the apron slightly below the level of the car floor and a little beyond the end of the car. One end of the apron is supported by the forward car and the other rests on cast iron bracket supports bolted to the end sill of the car to which the apron is attached. The hinges are so designed that they offer no obstruction to the moving plows as they moved from car to car."

In order to get the plow(s) on and off the cars there had to be some sort of an apron or "run" (the latter term applied to circus terminology) that rested on the flatcar and on the ground. It is assumed this was the case; thus builders of the canal

adopted a circus technique. The cars were only 40 feet long, so one car carried no more than two plows. The circus used heavy one-half inch-thick connecting plates between cars. On the canal flatcar this plate was thinner and called an apron, but it served the same circus purpose. In addition, the circus flatcar and the canal flatcar had low sills along the horizontal plane of the car so that a circus wagon or plow could not slip off the car if the train was jolted suddenly for some reason. It is assumed that Major Littell's report and supporting documents were still on file in the Quartermaster Corps' files in either New York or Washington, D. C., at the time the government anticipated



The Army War Show in Soldier Field, Chicago, September 2-12, 1942.

building the Panama Canal. The canal flatcar just discussed seems to be proof that one branch of the U.S. government made use of circus-style loading/unloading of a car during the construction of the canal, but was this type of procedure widely adopted by the army? Apparently not.

General James A. Van Fleet, retired United States army and former Commanding General of the Eighth Army in Korea between April 14, 1951, and February 11, 1953, wrote a booklet "Rail Transport and the Winning of Wars" in 1956. Van Fleet states that, "Box cars move ammunition, rations, signal equipment and other freight requiring protection from the weather, theft and observation. Flat cars move tanks, bulldozers, engineer equipment, and the like, as well as transporting trucks on long movements. Some flat cars are multi-wheeled, with exceptionally high load capacities for special shipments." Van Fleet indicates that it required 1200 flat cars, or

gondola cars with ends which could be dropped to move a division of troops during World War II.

The phrase, "flat cars, or gondolas with ends which could be dropped," indicates some modification of regular railroad freight cars. These cars were used by the military, according to Van Fleet, but not extensively. The ends of the cars that fold down to ground level act as a self-contained ramp; in the case of the gondola car, when the end is not used for loading and unloading, the end extends upward from the floor of the car. This type of gondola car is used by the military and railroads today. I've never seen one in the down position. Van Fleet's description of these flat

and gondola cars permitted vehicles to be loaded in a circus-style manner. He doesn't picture such cars being loaded but he does include a photograph of flat cars loaded with tanks. The tanks are held in place by criss-cross steel cables, front and rear of each tank. Van Fleet never mentions any cross-plates between cars, but it is possible they moved from one end of the train to the other over cross-plates. The military never developed a fleet of flat cars for piggyback use. It was cheaper and easier to rent such flat cars (as well as other types of freight cars) from American railroad companies. Van Fleet's book is very complete and if the military used circus-style loading methods to any great extent, he certainly would have commented on the operation. He stresses that for the military, rapid loading and unloading along with quick and efficient turn around train service is essential at terminals and ports in winning wars.

In June 1942, the army launched its Uncle Sam Army War Show. The show was put together by Undersecretary of War, Robert Patterson, along with General George C. Marshall and other army personnel. The show opened on the evening of June 12, 1942, at Baltimore, Maryland, where it played four days and then moved on to Philadelphia and other cities across America. The show was a means of presenting to the American public the tanks, artillery, anti-aircraft guns, tanks, tank destroyers

and other motorized vehicles, in addition to troops. It was also a benefit for army relief agencies.

When the army realized that it didn't have the expertise to direct and carry on the daily routine for such a huge production, it secured the services of George Washington Smith, general manager of Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Circus, to move the show. The route book of the circus in 1943 comments as follows: "Last year 1942, when organizing the big U. S. Army War Show for a country wide tour, they drank deep at the wellspring of Ringling wisdom and walked off with George W. Smith, the circus' general manager, to move the huge project.

"George was for years technical master in the movement and operation of the circus, handled transportation of the Army Show in flawless fashion and won the commendation of every officer connected with it. This year he was back home again with a bigger job on his hands--managing and moving the world's largest traveling amusement institution."

Tom Parkinson scribbled on a piece of notepaper (now in the archives of the Circus World Museum), that "George W. Smith, displaced by Art Concello, in 1942, operated the United States Army War Show, a great spectacle moving circus-style by rail." The *Milwaukee Journal* on August 11, 1942, reported that, "Others moved out over the highways and by rail throughout the day." Still another newspaper reported that, "... the more than 1300 men went on 25 railroad coaches, and about 150 motor vehicles made the trip by highway." None of these sources say specifically how the rail cars were loaded, except Parkinson who certainly implies it was done "circus-style by rail," which circus historians interpret to mean vehicles were loaded onto a flatcar by means of runs, ramps or similar devices--not hoisted aboard or loaded from the side.

After studying literature from the American Association of Railroads, the conclusion is

reached that George Smith moved the army show over the highways and by rail, and that in the latter case standard railroad flat cars were generally used in which the army vehicles were advanced on to a ramp or runs or similar means at one end of the flatcar. Then they were "backed across bridge plates between cars" and when fully loaded the show left for its next exhibition. The vehicles were held in place "by chocks, chains and binders of the type used by Ringling Brothers." In other words, the army show did not use specialized piggyback flat cars as they are known today, but they more likely used regular rail flat cars. It appears unlikely that Ringling-Barnum loaned the army some of its circus flat cars because surely this would have been indicated in the 1943 route book. In 1942 the number of both types of cars was a few thousand. In other words, you can have a piggyback operation with or without specialized flat cars. The chief requirement is that they are loaded in circus-style.



A general view of a United States Army field kitchen area with two stoves with smoke stacks and cooking kettles on the ground. The stoves were manufactured by the George B. Donavin Stove Company of Columbus, Ohio. Army Photographic Service, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

However, in more recent years the United States military has taken advantage of circus-style loading on to a railway flatcar. An example of this took place on December 11 and 12, 1999, at Fargo, North Dakota. The 141st Engineering Battalion of the North Dakota National Guard (from Valley City, North Dakota) loaded 10 Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad flat cars with motorized vehicles that ended up in

Kosovo, Yugoslavia. The loading was done in circus-style fashion by means of a permanent concrete inclined loading ramp on a spur tract (see photograph); separate loading runs were not used.

As far as the adoption of circus-style loading of flat cars by our American railroads, it appears that this was left to the Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee Railroad⁴⁵ to experiment with and to construct a specialized flatcar, eventually known as a piggyback flatcar; it was used for the first time on May 26, 1926. It was the first modern railroad to develop and use such a car and method for loading it and thus haul less than a carload shipment. The service eventually became known as piggyback railway service, using railroad flat cars, but it took several years before the new innovation was widely adopted by a majority of our nation's railroads. The point of this discussion is really not the railway flatcar but whether or not the loading and unloading of flat cars is done in the circus-style, which it is. Of course,

the idea dates to W. C. Coup who perfected it and then moved Barnum's circus by railroad in 1872. One must hasten to say that other railroads, notably the Long Island Railroad Company, used a similar type car to carry merchandise from Long Island to the East River in New York City in 1884; but this railroad and other lines did not immediately follow through on a sound mode of freight transportation. Piggyback became important as soon as it was proven to be an efficient as well as a profitable means of transporting goods and that there was a good return on one's investment.

Few railroads, in my exhaustive search in the 1950s and 1960s, acknowledged the point that the circus originated the idea of a circus-style (piggyback) loading system. The first name coined by Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee Railroad was "Ferry-Truck Service."⁴⁶ They specially designed steel containers equipped with running gear. One of the containers was left at the shipper's warehouse and loaded with merchandise as outbound freight. Then, the container was picked up by a regular company vehicle and

hauled to the freight yards of the Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee Railroad where it was run up a ramp onto the specially designed flatcar (piggyback), securely fastened to the car, and delivered to the door of the consignee. In the early morning hours of January 21, 1963, this rail line ceased to exist.

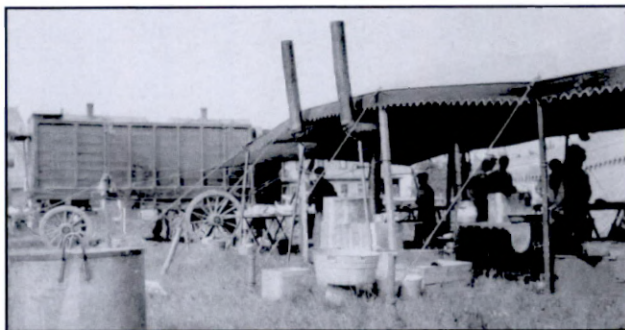
The late Tom Parkinson believed that the above railroad's flat car was a true piggyback flat car and it was loaded as circuses load their flat cars. During his years at the *Billboard* he followed the further development of this type of car. Whenever I visited him and Nat Green of the Ringling Circus office in Chicago, he would relate the latest car he had been invited to see.

The next railroad to initiate such an operation was the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad (The New Haven Line) on November 16, 1936. Herman H. Pelver, Western Division vice-president of the Pennsylvania railroad, indicated in 1955 a company by the name of Piggyback, Inc. (an affiliate of a French manufacturer of piggyback flat cars, the Compagnie Francaise de Material de Chemine der Fer France) built the 1936-1937 piggyback cars for the New Haven, and that for some years thereafter the French company controlled the patents on the New Haven cars. The Chicago, Northwestern Railroad instituted piggyback service in 1936, followed by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad (Burlington Northern Santa Fe) in 1950 along with the Chicago, Eastern Illinois Railroad. The Pennsylvania railroad initiated similar piggyback service on July 14, 1954, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe did the same in 1959.

Gardner C. Hudson of *Railway Age Weekly* wrote:⁴⁷ "You are certainly right in your idea that the piggyback loading and unloading technique now commonly used by most U.S. and Canadian railroads is a linear descendant of that used by our big traveling circuses as early as 75 or more years ago. I have also observed piggyback loading and unloading operations. I can see no essential differences between the two [circus and

railroad flat cars]. You probably know, of course, that railroad men today [October 21, 1958] commonly use the term 'circus loading' to describe the technique of loading and unloading of piggyback cars."

Finally, Parkinson (October 1956) indicated:⁴⁸ "... the main stumbling block which long prevented the advancement of piggyback or 'Ferry-Truck Service' was the opposition afforded by the U. S. trucking industry and unions before the Interstate Commerce Commission but finally by a 5-2 decision, the railroads won



Quad ranges on Jones Bros. World Toured Circus in 1915.

out in their fight to continue developing the piggyback service."

It is evident that the American railroad development of circus-style piggyback service took years to occur. It is also apparent that it took years for the American military, including the National Guard, to adopt such a loading and unloading method. There is unquestionably a linear linkage between the military forces, the railroads, and the American circus's development of such a loading method in 1872. This is finally acknowledged today by the nations railroads in piggyback literature (David J. Deborer, no date), but no such statement has been given or set down by the military, except for the National Guard as cited earlier by this writer, and much time, energy and research has been spent on the subject by many persons.

Another area in this history to be addressed is the matter of the interest of the United States Quartermaster Corps as well as other American military units in the culinary methods employed by American circuses. Foreign military men were also interested in such methods as employed

by Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Barnum & Bailey's Circus when they toured overseas in the early 1900s. Greater emphasis is placed on the latter circus. A statement in the *Baltimore Sun* "... to investigate the methods of obtaining supplies and serving food ..." is interpreted to also mean to study all other culinary aspects used by Barnum & Bailey.

Circus historian of note, Stuart Thayer, wrote an historical account on how the circus cookhouse evolved in America titled, "The First Cookhouse."⁴⁹ He points out that

there was an increase in the size of circuses prior to the Civil War:⁵⁰ "... since the beginning of tented touring, employees had been lodged and fed in hotels along the route. When the entire personnel of a company was about thirty people--performers and workmen--the cost and availability of hotel living was not a major item. As the size of rosters expanded

in the 1850's, managers began to seek some relief from the added costs of food and lodging. Also, the number of people employed began to strain the resources of small town hosteleries. A better solution was to feed and house the workmen, but not the staff and performers, on the lot."

"James E. Cooper, proprietor of the Adam Forepaugh Show, died on the first day of the year 1892. In his obituary the *New York Clipper* of January 9 stated that in 1864 he had originated the cook tent ... on the circus lot.

"The writer, William M. Davis, Jr. wrote on 19 January 1892, that he, Davis, not Cooper had originated the idea of a camp outfit (camp was a contemporary name for 'lot') and said, "While acting as manager in 1857 I prevailed on the Mabies [Jerry Mabie of the Mabie Circus] to get a cooking outfit and sleeping and horse tents. What Davis' letter does not make clear was that the equipment was first used in 1858. He suggested it, however, in 1857.

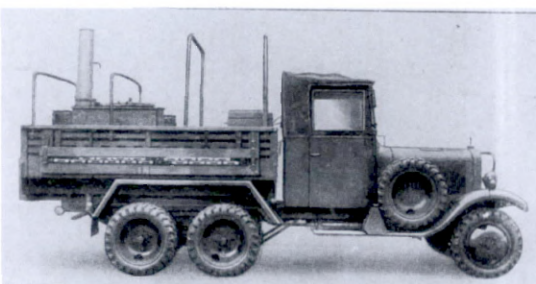
"This simply meant that there was at least one company producing such items in the late 1850's that could be used by circuses. Veteran circus men, James DeMott and George S. Cole, soon verified Davis' claim.

DeMott wrote, "in reference to the first camp or cooking apparatus for the accommodation of circuses, the range in the wagon was the most complete I have ever seen, and the wagon was finely finished. Cole merely seconded Davis' description. . . ."⁵¹

"And to circus historians, we might add, there does not seem to be much controversy about my being the 'first to introduce camp life,' Davis concluded."⁵² Thayer goes on to write that in spite of saving money with the new camping outfit, one would have thought that all circuses would have rushed to purchase such equipment, but this does not seem to be the case. "... research . . . does not reveal another use of the innovation until 1866 when Gardner & Hemmings adopted it." This circus was on the road between 1863 and 1867. The discovery of the fact that some sort of cooking range was housed in a circus wagon occurred much earlier than I ever expected when I first decided to undertake this project.

The range was not necessarily a permanent fixture in the wagon, as it was often placed on the ground outside the wagon. The present writer will not pursue the matter further, other than to say that Burr Robbins Circus, had a range wagon and a range (stove) in 1883, which could be removed from the wagon.⁵³ In a picture of this wagon the rear doors are open wide and the range is located at the opposite end. It resembles an ordinary household kitchen range. There is also a tall, round utensil on the floor of the wagon, probably a cooker for boiling foods, making soup, or washing dishes. In addition, the range is elevated above the bed of the wagon by means of metal legs. Buffalo Bill's Wild West Exhibition carried similar ranges or stoves with them while moving about in the United States as well as when it visited England and the Continent.

Ringling Brothers World's Greatest Circus and Barnum & Bailey started out with simple cooking equipment such as a camp-type cooking unit that will be discussed shortly, but according to Fred Dahlinger, Jr., they had a cooking range in the mid-1890's.⁵⁴ Early photographs of such a range show them on the



A large World War II German field kitchen truck. Militarhistorisches Museum Der Bundeswehr collection.

ground near the cook tent; later it was incorporated into the wagon. There is no way of knowing today the name of the manufacturer of such early ranges, but it is probable that they were either a Donavin (or Quad unit to be discussed shortly). George Donavin started to advertise in the *Billboard* in the early 1900's. One of the earliest references to the kitchen on Ringling Brothers World's Greatest Shows was for the season of 1891 when the Galesburg, Illinois *Daily Mail* on August 1, 1891, reported:⁵⁵ "The kitchens are on wheels equipped with big ranges, and with drop shelves on each side to hold the dishes, everything being planned to give the greatest capacity in the smallest space. Waiters clad in white caps and jackets; and 400 men had to be fed."

Ringling Brothers cook house wagon often held one or more ranges or cook stoves. The range had the appearance of a household kitchen unit. Later (1895+ years) the ranges were built by the Donavin (Quad) Stove Company of Columbus, Ohio. A stovepipe projected above the surface of the stove. Barnum & Bailey had a cookhouse wagon in 1897, and undoubtedly earlier. This wagon was transported to England in 1898 and is pictured in a 1970 *Bandwagon* article. It is evident that James A. Bailey of Barnum & Bailey used a Quad-type cook range in England according to the following account: "Refreshment tent for the visitors and canteen for staff; the latter to seat four hundred people. It is provided with a large cooking range, which can be placed in position and gotten into operation in a few minutes, also a small refrigerator."

Over time these ranges were modified and upgraded, which was stan-

dard business practice and accounts for slight differences in frontal, side and rear views. By 1940 or so Fred Dahlinger, Jr., states that Ringling's inventory list shows four cookhouse wagons (#27, 50, 51 and 68). The ranges were incorporated into the cookhouse wagon and there were often "two pairs butted back to back and side by side."

They were also placed on the ground outside the cookhouse wagon.

The U. S. Army Quartermaster Corps in all probability adapted Quad ranges that were often positioned in the same manner.

The Geo. B. Donavin Stove Company of Columbus, Ohio, was founded in the late 1890s according to company ads in the *Billboard* as well as entries in the Columbus, Ohio, city directories. Geo. B. Donavin added a partner and possibly more capital, and the firm's name became the Donavin-Hunt Range Company. Their ads were directed to military groups, circuses, carnivals and other outdoor organizations that could use a readily portable camping stove or range. Still later the name of the firm became the Quad Stove Mfg. Company. This company remained in business until 1958 when it became the Quad Realty Company; it was dissolved on April 20, 1960.

A search was made of circus histories that might contain information on the circus cookhouse and equipment use, for the possible mention of either a Donavin or a Quad range, or even a Peerless unit. A recent search was made of *Bandwagons* and *White Tops* and in the latter journal a history on the tenting season of 1936 and 1937 of Downie Bros. Circus (1926-1939) by Joseph T. Bradbury was found. Bradbury included an "inventory of Downie Bros. Circus: Prepared for potential buyers at the end of the 1937 Season."⁵⁷ Under the inventory list of cookhouse items appears the name of Donavin field kitchens, and it states specifically:⁵⁸ "Completely equipped to feed 300 people. Equipment includes steam table, 2 #10 Donavin Field Ranges, 30 x 70, dining tent, 20 x 30, kitchen tent and all necessary utensils, price \$1500.00."

This is the first time the writer

encountered this stove company's name in a circus history. The age of the range(s) on the Downie Circus lot is unknown. One wonders if it (they) were a recent acquisition or if it (they) were acquired sometime in the past.

The Quad stove was manufactured by the Donavin Company of Columbus, Ohio, as noted earlier. The Donavin Company advertised in the *Billboard* as follows: "ADOPTED BY THE HAGENBECK TRAINED ANIMAL SHOWS, season of 1905 and:⁵⁹ Our Ranges Will Work a Revolution in the Makeup of Circus Culinary Equipment."

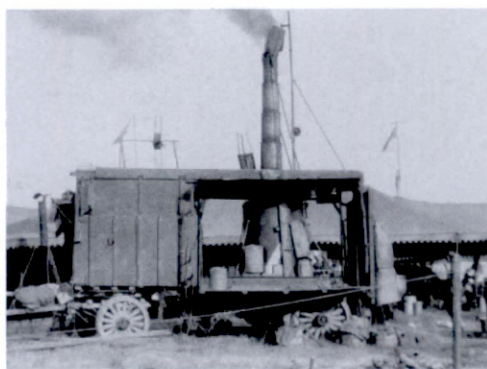
A search of the *Bandwagon* and *White Tops* was made in an effort to discover if the Hagenbeck Circus (1905-1938 under various titles) actually used Quad ranges during that 1905 tenting season, but nothing was uncovered. Cookhouse wagon numbers and kitchen and cookhouse set-ups were found but not on the point in which I was most interested.

The Quad Company continued to advertise in the *Billboard*. The following ad appeared in 1924:⁶⁰ "Ringling-Barnum Circus (8 ranges); John Robinson (2); Howe's Great London (1920-1924-2); Mighty Haag Shows (1894-1938-2); Gentry Brothers (1928-1925-2); Rhoda Royal Circus (2); Johnny Jones (2); Sparks Circus (1898-1931)."

Quad Stove Manufacturing literature indicates the ranges were built in five different sizes: 12, 18, 40, 90, and 150 man capacity.⁶¹ Food could be roasted, fried, baked, and boiled. Several of the 150 man capacity units could well have met the cooking needs of shows like Barnum & Bailey and Ringling Brothers, and other circuses.

Quad Stove Company advertisements are timely because they link their ranges with the ones apparently used by the U.S. Army, National Guard, the traveling American circuses, and possibly adopted and then adapted for use by the German High Command prior to World War I.

John M. Staley, long-time circus cookhouse employee on several circuses, including Ringling-Barnum, furnished solid evidence that the Ringling Circus used Quad ranges or stoves over a period of years. Staley



Ringling-Barnum Circus cookhouse steam boiler in 1924.

wrote, "I believe the ranges were manufactured by the Quad Stove Company. . . ."⁶² He added:⁶³ "In the distant past eight ranges were used in the kitchen; they were set up in pairs, one range would have an opening for the stovepipe on the right side; the other range would have the opening on the left side; the two ranges were placed on two iron rails, if the ground was uneven and they would level the rails with blocks of wood; the two ranges were connected by a collar that also had an opening for the stovepipe that extended outside away from the tent on a slope of at least eight to ten feet and these were held in place by two upright rods. The side wall had cut outs for the stovepipes in the kitchen tent."

The stoves and ovens were carried in No. 6 wagon (in checking the Ringling-Barnum route for 1937, one finds this wagon listed which lends credence to Staley's accurate memory for details). A No. 6 wagon was built during the Gumpertz days (1937) and the body was constructed entirely of aluminum with solid rubber tires but yet had wooden underwear, and doubletree.

Staley also penned an article in *Bandwagon* about the circus mess and in one section he comments on the Quad ranges on Ringling-Barnum in the 1920's. At the time food was heated in them by burning pieces of wood. According to Staley the ranges were of "light weight and four men had little trouble carrying them in and out of the kitchen wagon." One questions this because the range company advertised that their ranges were constructed of "heavy iron and steel." Staley also wrote:⁶⁴ "I could have a blast furnace

fire in the stove up until the last minute, then throw a bucket of water on the burning wood, pull the charred wood and ashes, then another bucket of water and the stove was ready to load in the wagon. The stoves were made to last under the harsh treatment that occurred daily in the circus kitchen. Very seldom did one of the ranges give any trouble or warp. Wood was purchased by the 24-hour man and was ready on the lot when we arrived to lay.

Generally, the surface of Quad ranges was used for the preparation of many foods including fried eggs, steak, and pork chops. Staley indicates Ringling used 40 skillets to fry eggs and the photo in his *Bandwagon* article shows pancakes being fried atop a Quad range, so both ways were possible.⁶⁵ The Quad stove was also used for cooking roasts, baking potatoes and pies just as one does in a home kitchen range.⁶⁶

The United States Army continued its interest in circus culinary methods and equipment between 1905 and 1906. After receiving a report from army officer, Captain Logan, the interest of the army was piqued. Captain Logan had been assigned to the Barnum & Bailey Circus lot where he took careful note of the equipment used in preparing food and their methods of feeding many people three times a day. He felt everything about the circus mess would be a valuable resource to the army and he reported this to his superiors in the Quartermaster Corps. His report seems to have been heeded by General Sharpe and others in the Corps. One piece of evidence that substantiates this conclusion is based on an advertisement placed in the *Billboard* by the Quad Stove Manufacturing Company (Geo. B. Donavin Stove Company) in 1917. The ad reads in part:⁶⁷ ". . . the Company has been in Army, Navy and National Guard use for over twenty years. The Circus and Camp Cooking Problem Solved."

On the basis of this advertisement it appears that the National Guard and the circus did use a type of simple camp stove, which was purchased from the Geo. B. Donavin Stove Company. The company built several types of ranges and stoves. The

one pictured is extremely difficult to see because of the shade trees overhead and in the vicinity. Barnum & Bailey, and undoubtedly Ringling Brothers Circus, used a similar type of Donavin camp stove prior to 1895 as one is pictured that year on the former's circus lot in 1895. It is possible that a predecessor company to Donavin stoves produced a camp stove prior to 1890 in light of Thayer's discovery noted above. The name of such a company has yet to be located.

The National Archives located additional information on army ranges; this took the form of four documents pertaining to ranges and stoves used by the United States Army. The first clue that such documents and photographs existed came from Steve Ozmun, who spent some time in the armed forces and is now site manager of the Fort Snelling Historic Site, St. Paul, Minnesota. Two of the four documents mentioned above deal with Ranges No. 3 and 3A and Range No. 5, United States Quartermaster Corps. These documents are dated January 26, 1912, June 28, 1912, and June 25, 1951. No supporting evidence in the form of billings, receipts or shipping instructions was found by the National Archives and Record Services to help substantiate the fact that these ranges were built by the Quad Stove Company. It is assumed that these ranges are Quad units and, after acquiring a Quad range, the Quartermaster Corps modified it according to their specifications. Range 3A could have been used at semipermanent stations or areas and certainly at permanent installations. It is highly possible that the army units were transported to or near the front lines during World War I.

The army document discusses the "Manufacturer's Name Plate," but it is not pictured in the accompanying text material, but where the plate is supposed to be is a plate with the words, "Army Range" which, of course, makes sense. The text reveals that this plate was: "To be riveted to the left end of the range body in the center near top front edge. To be made of gray iron, nickel-plated, 7 inches long, 4 1/2 inches wide and 1/4 inch thick. To be attached with two 1/4 inch round

head rivets, nickel-plated, one on each end. To have inscribed thereon name of manufacturer, date of contract, and purchase order number.

The American circus, the National Guard, and the United States Army and Marine Corps all used an early camp like stove that rested either directly on the ground or on legs. These units had a stovepipe and either wood or coal provided the heat for cooking. The units were easily transported in a cookhouse wagon or other type vehicle. It is plausible that these were early Geo. B. Donavin Stove Company cooking units because the company, as noted earlier, specialized and advertised an early type of outdoor camp cook stove. The company also built a stove that accommodated a varying number of individuals. It is unknown at this time if the German army had such early compact units.

Ringling Brothers Circus, Barnum & Bailey and Buffalo Bill's Wild West all carried Quad ranges as well as large cylindrically shaped pots or kettles in which water was heated and possibly soup was prepared and kept warm. These kettles were first heated over either a wood or coal-burning fire on the open ground near the cookhouse tent. According to photographs of the Ringling Brothers Circus in its route books as early as 1897 and 1899, these kettles were in use. By 1910 (?), the kettles had become drum-like in shape and size, and the fluids heated by steam delivered through a steam pipe, as pointed out by circus historian, Fred Dahlinger, Jr.⁶⁸ Barnum & Bailey likewise had cylindrical kettles, the contents of which were fired from fuel on the ground. The National Guard and United States Army also used kettles prior to World War I, as did the German Army.

Four Quad ranges on Ringling-Barnum in 1936.



Frank Braden of Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Combined Circus wrote the following in 1942 about the circus and German army interest in circus culinary methods: ⁶⁹ "... as the circus cookhouse began almost instantly to function, one was also reminded that the Kaiser's Army at the turn of the century had adopted and adapted steam kettles and field ranges of the Barnum & Bailey portion of the big show, then touring the Continent. With very little change, the field kitchens the Germans had adopted a decade before from the Barnum & Bailey show."

The late U. S. Army Colonel, Louis A. O'Donnell wrote in the same vein: ⁷⁰ "One often hears and reads that the officers of the Kaiser's Imperial Army, the French, Dutch, British Armies studied that operation of the Barnum & Bailey part of the Big Show when it was in Europe at the turn of the century, and modeled their field ranges and train unloading after the circus ranges and methods. That is true. The Big Show system is as nearly perfect as thought and experience can make it, and the U.S. Army has always closely observed it."

An examination of German cooking units reveals two types: the one appears to be a modified Quad-type unit that served as an oven, which was carried on a special transporting vehicle--quite different from a range wagon of the American circus. This unit has a firebox as evidenced by a stovepipe; space was allocated for one or more kettles or steamers. The second unit had a transporting vehicle, which carried a number of kettles in which water could be heated and/or soups prepared for future use. Spare kettles were also carried in the transporting unit. This unit was equipped with a fire chamber and possible oven; other of these units held just kettles. As far as is known the circus never incorporated kettles as such into a cookhouse wagon. The German transporting unit was equipped with large-spoked wheels, similar to the transporting vehicle of the National Guard and United States Army. These German units are pictured and described in a 1937 80-page military summary of

German World War I field kitchen equipment, as well as in this commentary.⁷¹

It appears that the American circus (represented herein by Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Barnum & Bailey and Ringling Brothers) and other circuses did use a cooking range or stove with an oven, called the Quad stove manufactured by the Geo. B. Donavin Stove Company of Columbus, Ohio. Written, as well as pictorial evidence, has been presented to substantiate the claim. The American Quartermaster Corps seems to have adopted the Quad range after observing circus methods first hand on the circus lot. The army and National Guard undoubtedly modified these Quad units according to their needs and specifications. These specifications were drawn up at Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis, Missouri. It is also evident that the German General Staff adopted and then adapted similar Quad units for their own use after observing Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Barnum & Bailey Circus first hand on circus lots in Europe and England. French, Belgium and English army officers also appear to have visited and observed circus culinary methods and units, but it is unclear if these armies actually adopted circus methods and units.

The American circus has influenced our way of life in many ways during its long history. Innovative contributions were made with little or no conscious effort by the many giants of this wonderful world of tinsel and joy, and though these have been noted by countless circus historians, the general public remains oblivious to what it has gained through the circus.

Barnum & Bailey's Circus and Buffalo Bill's Wild West provided the know-how of entraining and detraining operations, as well as culinary methods, to the German General Staff and other foreign army heads and to our own American Quartermaster Corps.

World War I military men generally credit the American circus with pointing out and teaching the military a great many things, including World War I military men generally credit the American circus with



Making pancakes on the top of a Quad range on Ringling-Barnum in the early 1920s.

pointing out and teaching the military staking of tents, packing and transporting the same, as one example. Such helps are not incorporated in any one book or manual published by the military.

This was not done deliberately to undermine our own military capabilities, but rather the circus bosses and the roustabouts were simply carrying out daily tasks in order to earn a living and to move and feed a gigantic enterprise from city to city across America and in England, Germany, and other European countries. James A. Bailey and William Cody couldn't and didn't want to isolate the mechanical aspects of their shows from the view of the general public. Everyone was free to come and observe.

The value of the piggyback railway flatcar has been known since 1872, but it took the American railroad over fifty years (until 1926) to recognize the fact when it became an economic boom to them and the world.

This writer has spent many years trying to substantiate that the American circus (Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Barnum & Bailey Circus) influenced American and European military experts to adopt circus railroad and culinary methods. In the final analysis it appears that the German military never adopted circus loading and unloading methods, but the American military, including the National Guard, makes limited use of the idea today and has for some years in the past. However, the writer has not received a solid assurance from the American military. National Guard assurance is found in photographic evidence provided in

this paper.

As far as culinary methods are concerned, it is quite clear that both American and German military men adopted and, in turn, adapted, circus methods, some equipment and procedures.

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Moorhead Public Library, Moorhead, Minnesota, for arranging Interlibrary Loans of the *Billboard* and *Clipper*. Publishers of Charles Panatis' *Extraordinary Orig of Everyday Things*, 1987, Harper-Collins, Publishers; used by permission

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Dr. Rainer Mertens, Director, Duetsch Verkehrsmuseum, Nuremburg, Germany 2000

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Forum Publishing Company and Bruce Crummy, photographer, Fargo, North Dakota

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Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Joseph Bradbury, former historian, Circus Fans of America, 1999

Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Combined Circus, 1950-2000

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All About Camels And The Circus

By Bill Johnston and Fred D. Pfening, Jr.

Camels, the "ships of the desert," have never been known for their pleasant dispositions. Normally a non-aggressive animal, they have a few weapons to use, if necessary such as biting, kicking and spitting. Despite their shortcomings they have proved to be a dependable and useful beast for mankind. Well adapted to carrying loads over rough terrain and deserts they have also pulled ploughs, toted the mail and have been used as riding animals in many parts of the world.

Camel-like animals appeared in the early Eocene Era in North America, some 40 to 50 million years ago. Camels migrated at the end of the Tertiary Period, two million years

An 1870 J. M. French ad showing a camel drawn bandwagon. All illustrations are from the Pfening Archives unless otherwise credited.



ago, to Eurasia. By the end of the Glacial Period they had become extinct in North America (their original habitat).

The wild double-hump camel (camelus bactrianus) was discovered by Linnae in 1758. The name Bactrian comes from the place they were discovered, in Baktria on the Afghan-Russian border. The dromedary or one hump camel was first domesticated in Central and South Arabia in 4000 B.C. They were distributed widely by Muslim Arabs. Ferdinand de Medici took 1622 dromedary camels to Italy. By the 19th century there were only 200 left.

Eighty dromedaries were sent to Spain in 1829, and released in the Cuto Domana in the Guadalquivir Delta. Some lived there until 1950, when the last five were stolen.

The dromedary camel has been successfully established in Australia, Southwest Africa and the U.S.A. Ptolemy II was the first to introduce camels on the desert routes in Egypt under the Emperor Claudius in 41-54 A.D. and Emperor Nero in 54-68 A.D.

Great races took place in with ornamented chariots were pulled in Rome by four-camel hitches.

A Greek historian related that 2,500 years ago in the battle of Lydians against Cyrus the Great, the Persian Emperor, the Lydians had the best cavalry, with the fastest horses and longest lances. He ordered his soldiers to get off their horses and mount the camels they had been using as pack animals. He used the camels in the front line of attack. According to Herodotus, no horses could endure the sight and smell of a camel. When the battle began the Lydian's horses turned tail and fled the minute they saw and smelled the camels. Cyrus won the battle and extended his empire to the Aegean Sea.

There are two types of dromedary camels. One is plumper, heavy and slow. These are used primarily for

This 1876 W. W. Cole Monster Show ad pictured a camel team.

Exhibition of the Period.

**J. M. FRENCH'S
ORIENTAL CIRCUS**
Egyptian Caravan
—AND—
ANIMAL EXHIBITION.
WILL EXHIBIT AT
BURLINGTON,
MONDAY, August 8, 1870

**GRAND GALA DAY IN GUELPH
ON WEDNESDAY, JULY 12.**
First time in Canada of
W. W. COLE'S

MONSTER SHOW
Coming on 36 Railroad Cars, no
more no less, which is from four to six Cars more
than any Show ever used.
GREAT RACE SHOW
Mammoth Menagerie, Museum, Aquarium, Aviary, and
Double Circus.



carrying heavy loads. The second type is a light, long legged and fast animal used for riding and even racing.

How long can a camel go without water? Longer than man, but not as much, as people believe. In a test, one camel was examined after he had gone without water for eight days. This animal lost 22% of his body weight. While emaciated, he was still alive. It is believed that a camel can lose 50% of body weight without danger of death by thirst.

Camels normally mate in January and February. The males are very aggressive during mating time. They can be crossbred. Hybrids are usually larger and stronger. However, hybrids should be bred only to pure-bred animals. Camel's milk is 6.4% fat, 4.5% lactose, 6.3% nitrogen substances and 0.9% ash. It is considered good to drink.

Unusual specimens appear at times. One four-hump camel sold for \$10,000 on an Arab market.

Camels are not the brightest creatures on God's earth. Thirteen were trapped in the disastrous 1942

A four camel hitch on John Robinson at the turn of the century.



A sixteen camel hitch pulling a John Robinson bandwagon around 1900.

Ringling-Barnum menagerie fire in Cleveland. They made no attempt to save themselves, resisting efforts to lead them from the tent. Standing with the fire raging around them they refused to move. All thirteen were lost. Doc Henderson in his book *Circus Doctor* told of the camel's reaction: "They lay down, staring out in space like old men looking out of a club window, and died."

In his book *Wild Tigers and Tame Fleas* Bill Ballantine told of camels: "Sir Francis Turner Palgrave, the eminent British poet and critic of the late 1880's, in reviewing the camel has said: 'He is from first to last an undomesticated and savage animal rendered serviceable by stupidity alone, without much skill on his master's part or any co-operation on his own, save that of extreme passiveness. Neither attachment nor even habit impress him; never tame though not wide-eyed enough to be exactly wild.'"

"In the old lush days of circus camels were very serviceable street parade animals and every circus

worthy of the name carried as many as it could afford. Camels also made very spectacular and educational additions to the menageries. The yokels and crackers of the cotton South, Middle West corn shuckers and wheat reapers, pinetops from the Appalachians, and Mississippi flat-boaters--all likely saw their first live camel when the circus came to town.

"Early American circus impresarios were quick to recognize the value of the immense appeal of the camel to simple God-fearing audiences, even the most agnostic stogie-chewers being shrewdly aware of the camel's impressive 'write-up' in the very first book of the Bible with fourteen mentions in one Chapter (Genesis MUV). In the entire volume, camel references total twenty-seven, in nine different books. The lion, which is the wild animal most spoken of in the Scriptures (slightly nosing out the serpent, which is awfully popular), gets only thirty-seven nods in eighteen books; the bear has eight.

"The chief use of the humped beast in early circus days was in the traditional colossal pageant, the Spectacle, pronounced Speck-tack-le by inmates of the tented world (and affectionately dubbed 'Spec' by all but the late Mrs. Charlie Ringling, who insisted to her dying day that it was the "Tournament."

"The theme of the earliest of these gaudy conglomerate cheesecloth productions was usually Oriental or Biblical, and camels were a natural for either subject. They added their doleful groaning to the Pomp, Ceremony, Life and Wisdom Of a Period 1,000 Years Before 'the Christ,' woefully chewing their cud as The Most Interesting Woman of

Her Day, Balkis, Queen of Sheba, tossed her mildly undulating, decently covered hips at Solomon in All His Glory. Camel backs carried the oil jars of the Forty-count'em-Forty Thieves of Ali Baba, and waspish camels disdainfully waited while Aladdin (top-mounter of a Hungarian acrobatic troupe,) dutifully rubbed His Wonderful Lamp. Camels brooded through The Return of Marco Polo; unwillingly helped Nero (cookhouse griddle man) get on with The Destruction of Rome; and suffered themselves to plod through that most famous 'Spec' of all, The Durbar of Delhi, the churlish beasts grandly ignoring The Opulence of Oriental Rajahs, the Sacred Cattle and Sacrificial Animals, and the Sublime (albeit tacky) Array of



The famous sixteen camel hitch on Ringling Bros. Circus.

dary camels appeared in act two of "Alexander the Great," a period drama produced at the William Dunlap Theater in New York City.

The first Bactrian camel arrived in America in 1826. The ship *Xenophon* sailed from London on August 1826.

Zebedee Macomber's traveling menagerie had one.

In 1855 the U. S. government decided to import camels for use by the Army in the southwest deserts of this country. In May of that year Major Henry C. Wayne went to Turkey. At Smyrna he acquired thirty-three Dromedary camels. These were literally dragged aboard the ship

Supply. After three miserable months at sea the ship finally landed at Indianola, Texas on May 14, 1856. The camels were then walked to Camp Verde, 60 miles from San Antonio.

A year later the same ship returned to our shores with

forty-four more camels. Lt. Beale, U. S. Army, who was building a road in California along the 35th parallel, was assigned twenty-five of these animals. The camels were full of fleas and the soldiers avoided them. The Arab drovers gradually quit, leaving only one boy named Hai Joli. The soldiers hated the camels, but these animals were invaluable in the rough country. While mules and horses died from thirst and starvation, the camels survived on prickly weed, bitter shrubs and putrid water. Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, wanted to buy 1,000 camels, but the Civil War broke out. Davis left to become President of the Confederacy. The Texas camels were taken over by the Army. Some were sold to showmen for \$80 apiece; some wandered off into the desert.

The twenty-five camels in California were attached to the Ft. Tejon and kept at a Bakersfield, California ranch. Lt. Beale, in charge of these camels, used them in surveying on his road project.

In 1861 these camels were turned over to the Quartermaster Corps who knew nothing about them. They were used to haul freight between San Pedro and Los Angeles. The camels

Two camels performing on Gentry Bros. Circus around 1910.



A one camel hitch on Norris & Rowe around 1905.

Ameers, Pashas, Caliphs, Sheiks, Mikados, Mufti, Barbaric Tribal Chiefs, Savage Despots, Kaisers, Czars, Queens, Princes, Viceroys and Grand Dukes plus a Wonderful Representation of Strange Odd Remarkable People whose Duplicates are not on Earth, representing the Whims and Vagaries of Nature while in Her Most Eccentric Mood."

The first camel to arrive in America was a dromedary. He arrived at Boston, Massachusetts on October 2, 1721. A pair was exhibited at Stevens Livery Stable on Wall Street in New York, on September 7, 1789. On May 10, 1789 two drome-



were not popular because horses and mules were frightened of them. Before long they were sold to circuses and desert freight haulers. Arizona City (now Yuma) was a seaport, and the camels transported supplies to mining towns. Eventually they were exterminated again because of the panic they caused with local horses.

Fifteen Bactrian camels from China arrived in San Francisco in 1860. They were used for hauling between Lake Walker and the Humboldt mining towns, 200 miles to the north. The area was deadly to horses, oxen and mules, as they could not eat the bitter plants, or drink the alkali water. While the camels could survive, they did suffer from the alkali soil. It infected their feet, killing many. Some were fitted with boots. Others escaped into the desert.

At Virginia City some were run in races at Gold Hill. More camels arrived in 1862 and were sent to British Colombia for carrying ore in the mines. The weather was too cold and they died.

During the Montana gold rush attempts were made to establish transport routes into Idaho and Montana. One day, a camel blocked a team of mules on a Montana mountain trail. The mules stampeded and dumped the wagons they were pulling, letting barrels of whiskey shatter against the rocks and spilling the precious fluid down the side. After that no camels were allowed in Montana. In 1865 the Overland Camel Company announced it would carry mail. This project never got started.

Hia Joh had dropped out of the camel business and took to digging for gold. He died in 1902 and was buried at Quartzite, east of the Colorado River, 60 miles north of Yuma.

In his book Ballantine wrote: "The animal popularized to the American public by the famous cigarette is a dromedary camel, the type usually used as a racer, known to the Arabians as a



A two camel hitch in a Sells-Floto parade around 1910.

'heirie.' It is a rough rider, and in the desert the three kinds are classified in an odd way.

"It is said the Talatayee can go three days' distance in one; the Sebayee can do seven days' traveling in one; and the Tasayee, a very rare type, can travel a nine days' course in one. Allowance must certainly be made in these figures for what is likely a used-camel dealer's normal exaggeration. A day's traveling distance is usually reckoned as being between ten to twelve leagues (thirty to thirty-six miles), the daily travel of an average caravan. Using this figure, the Tasayee camel would be making a minimum of almost three hundred miles a day, which I think is somewhat incredible, since a mighty good cross-country horse can possibly make one hundred miles in one day, but will then need to be rested the following three or four days.

"The Arabs have a parable con-

A four camel hitch in a John Robinson parade in the early 1920s.



cerning the swiftness of the heirie: 'When thou shalt meet a heirie and say to the rider, "Salem aliele" [Peace be between us], 'ere he shall have answered thee, "Aliek salem" [There is peace between us], he will be far off, and nearly out of sight; for this swiftness is like the wind. In other words, quicker than you can say Yankee Robinson."

"There are three principal drawbacks to the popularity of racing camels on circuses:

mounting, dismounting and kicking. Also it is not easy to get a circus camel, spoiled by a life of menagerie indolence, to wear used to haul freight between San Pedro and Los Angeles. The camels a saddle. An unorthodox genius in wire-construction named Paul Wenzel (an ex-tailor, who takes his measurements by knots tied in string) once was able to cover a camel almost entirely with a silk and wire contraption, transforming it into a gigantic Mother Goose, but his feat has never been duplicated. Camels simply do not like things on their backs—especially men things.

"The noise that is used to get a camel down onto its knees is an unholy mixture of rolling, gargling, tongue clicking and clearing of the throat. It is rather trying, and I'm told that one never gets accustomed to it. Mounting a camel is quite an acrobatic operation. The humped beast, crouching with forelegs bent inwards under him, can be held in this position by placing a foot on one bent joint. To mount without this kind of foot help, the rider faces Mecca, spits into the wind, flips hastily through the Boy Scout oath and takes a deep breath. First a foot must be lifted to saddle height, which is about four feet off the ground. With foot resting on top of saddle, the pommel is grasped, and the rider springs like a gazelle for the seat. Now if the camel is not restrained by foot on leg joint, it is apt to skitter to its feet at first contact, either leaving the would-be jockey hanging by pommel, head down with

one foot skyward, or flat on his back on the ground. The adjustment to seat is no cinch either.

"The camel's back legs rise first, lurching the rider forward over the neck; then the front legs straighten sending the luckless fellow sailing back toward the talk same rock and roll on descent.

"Kicking, however, is the worst problem. The camel can kick around 180 degrees with a radius of six feet. There is a saying around the circus: 'Beware of the back and front of a horse and a elephant but all four sides of a camel.' Camels, too, have a nasty habit of suddenly dropping their heads, using them like a pile driver on the noggin of whoever happens to be in their disfavor at the time.

"As well as being used in the Spec and occasionally in hippodrome track races (they can hit 35 mph) camels were sometimes employed by the clowns. These occasions were not numerous, a double burner of misunderstanding keeping the two crusty species from ever becoming chummy. Clowns instinctively dislike and distrust camels just as they do boxing kangaroos.

"Eventually someone got around to framing a ring-act using camels, but in these early displays the animals didn't do much else but stand immobile around the ring-curb or in a front-leg mount to pedestal while zebras or ponies performed a simple drill about them."

The animal booklet of the 1872 Great Central Park Grand Menagerie told of the camel: "This quadruped is especially organized for existence in the arid and barren deserts of Asia and Africa. The complete adaptation of the camel for the dreary wastes in which it is destined to exist is fully illustrated in its peculiar structure. It has a broad expanded foot, elastic as a cushion, terminated in front by two comparatively small hoofs, and well defended beneath by a felt of coarse hair, which prevents the leg from sinking in the loose surface; while its long joints and lofty tread adapt it for a rapid progress along the loose sandy plains. But the distinguishing characteristic of the camel is its faculty of abstaining from water for a greater length of time than any other ani-

mal, for which nature has made a wonderful provision in giving it, besides the four stomachs which it has in common with other ruminating animals, a fifth bag, serving as a reservoir for water, where it, remains without corrupting or mixing with other

aliments. When pressed with thirst, and has occasion for water to macerate its food while ruminating, it makes part of it pass into the stomach by a simple contraction of certain muscles. Besides this reservoir of water to meet the exigencies of long journeys across the deserts, where streams and vegetation are scarce, the camel is provided with a storehouse of solid nutriment, on which it can draw for supplies long after every digestible part has been extracted from the stomach: this storehouse consists of one or two large collections of fat, stored up in ligamentous cells, supported by the spines of the dorsal vertebrae, forming what is called the hump. When the camel is in a fertile region, the hump becomes plump and expanded; but after a protracted journey in the wilderness it becomes shriveled and reduced, in consequence of the absorption of the fat.

"Thus to the Arab of the burning sea of sand the camel is as valuable, and indeed as essential, as the reindeer to the Laplander in his region of perpetual snow. The one animal, like the other, serves for all the purposes of draught and burden. When dead, the flesh of the camel is eaten-though coarser than that of the ordinary ruminants. Its hide, which approaches that of the pachy-

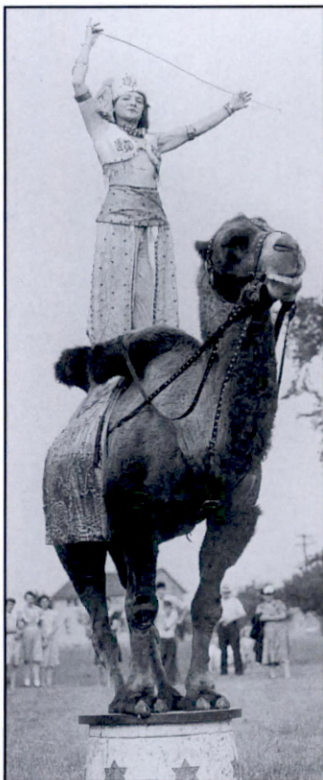


A camel hitch in a 1934 Hagenbeck-Wallace parade.

derms in thickness and strength, is applied to the manufacture of saddles, harness, shields, and various other articles. The finer hair is manufactured into articles of clothing, and the coarser hair is woven into articles of matting for the covering of

tents. By day, the camel carries its master and his family, with their property, from place to place; while at night the body of the recumbent beast of burden serves as a pillow for its owner.

Nellie Dutton and her performing camel Bagdad.



"The camel is the only medium of communication between those countries which are separated by extensive deserts. In the expressive and beautiful metaphor of oriental speech, it is the 'Ship of the Desert,' in truth, it is the only transport by which the dreary wilderness of sand can be navigated

with safety and certainty."

The animal booklet issued by P. T. Barnum's World's Fair in 1873 had this to say about the *Camelus Arbus*: "This animal seems destined by nature to fill a very important part in the affairs of mankind. Its height ranges from six to eight feet. Upon the back of the Arabian camel is a single large adipose



excrecence, called a hump; upon that of the Mecheri, or Bactrian camel, there are two humps, these being the leading characteristics, which distinguish the two species. The color of the single-humped animal is a light brown, with occasional variations of shade, from dark to a dirty white.

"Among the Bactrian or double-humped species, these variations are more marked in contrast, occasionally there being found one almost white. The one belonging to this Menagerie is of this description, and, with a single exception, the only one of the kind now in the country.

"The Dromedary, though not a separate variety, differs somewhat from the common camel. It is not so large or so well adapted as a beast of burden, but is very fleet of foot, and is ordinarily used to make rapid transits across the and sandy deserts of Arabia. The unusually large herd of camels exhibited in Mr. Barnum's collection was purchased a few years

ago from King Theodorus of Senegambia, taken by Mons. DeLesseps to work on the Suez canal, and, at the conclusion of that gigantic enterprise, were sold to Mr. Barnum's agents in Europe at an enormous price; whence they came in healthy condition, inured to hard toil, and well adapted to the purposes of long drives and constant travel, to which they are subject while making a tour of the country in connection with a zoological institute on wheels.

"Camels are very intimately connected with ancient history, sacred and profane, as they figure conspicuously in the affairs and wealth of oriental princes in all the past. Job is said to have had three thousand;

John Herriott and his exotic animal act on Mills Bros. Circus in 1965. John Herriott collection.

John Herriott and his exotic animal act on Mills Bros. Circus in 1965. John Herriott collection.



while the sons of Reuben captured from the Hagarites, in one battle, fifty thousand of these useful allies. They have often been used in war, to carry the baggage of oriental armies, and even to mingle in the bloody tumult of hand-to-hand combats.

"The White Bactrian, or two-humped species, which are very rare on account of their color, are objects of great veneration among the Arabians, from the supposed relations they sustain to Damordara, one of the divinities of pantheistic mythology. Like the white elephants, they are so highly esteemed as to be almost impossible to procure for expatriation, with a view to place them on exhibition, either in Europe or America.

"The hair of the camel is very useful and valuable as an article of commerce. The ancient prophets and princes of Israel wore cloth made from this material. John the Baptist appeared in Galilee in a raiment of camel's hair, made after a coarse and rude manner, in striking contrast with those who dwelt in palaces and wore 'soft raiment. As the camel was intended to traverse the unproductive and parching sand of the desert, nature seems to have adapted the animal to the climate in which it exists. Its head, neck, and body are long and almost devoid of flesh. The legs are large and muscular, supported by very large, broad, elastic hoofs or feet, while the body is withered into proportions narrow and economic, provided internally with a 'reticulum' of honey-comb cells, in which a large quantity of water may be absorbed, sufficient to endure the deprivations of a transit across the dreary desert."

Performing camels appeared on the Van Amburgh. circus in 1860; Dan Castello in 1870; Warner & Henderson in 1874; Burr Robbins in 1874 and 1875; Miles Orton in 1868; J. M. French in 1869. In 1870 W. W. Cole had an act with fourteen camels.

Camels have been fixtures in the circus, they were not expensive, and made a big flash in the spec and in parades in their colorful blankets. Even the small overland shows carried a camel. Some specimens on small circuses looked rather mangy, especially during the season when

they shed their hair.

The larger circuses carried many camels along with other lead stock like water buffalos, sacred cows, llamas and zebra. These animals appeared in parades and in specs.

The Adam Forepaugh Circus carried sixteen camels 1888. In 1891 the Barnum & Bailey show carried fourteen dromedaries. In 1912 twenty camels appeared in their parade. By 1916 there were fourteen camels on the show. The Forepaugh-Sells show had twenty camels in 1904.

Ringling Bros. World's Greatest Shows had so many camels that they had their own barn in the Baraboo quarters. For a number of years a sixteen camel hitch was featured in the Ringling parade pulling the Egypt tableau. The Ringlings used the same hitch on their 1910 Forepaugh-Sells Circus.

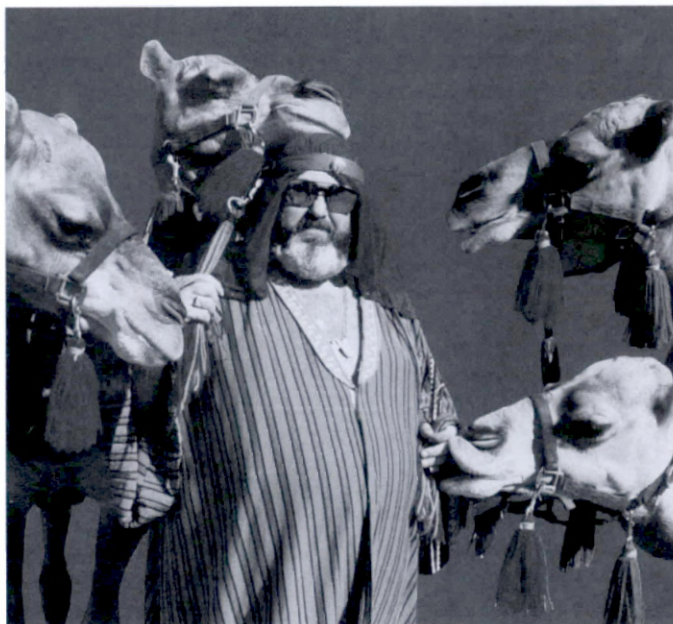
The John Robinson Circus at the turn of the century used camel teams to pull wagons in their parades. An unusual team of two camels and two horses pulled a parade wagon one year. Campbell Bros. Circus had seven camels in 1908. The Robinson show under Mugivan and Bowers ownership in the 1920s used a four camel teams in parades.

Both Hagenbeck-Wallace and Sells-Floto had twelve camels in 1928. John Robinson had ten in 1928. The Sparks Circus carried four camels in 1928. In 1931 there were ten camels on the Al G. Barnes show. In 1933 there were seventeen camels on the Hagenbeck-Wallace Circus. The 1934 parade had a ten camel hitch pulling a large cage.

The 1932 Ringling-Barnum show had fifteen camels. In 1933 there were nineteen. In 1934 there were eighteen, in 1936 there were twelve, there were sixteen in 1939 and 1940. By 1942 there were only thirteen.

The new 1935 Cole Bros. Circus parade had five camels. By the middle 1940s there were still five camels on the circus.

Truck circuses often carried camels. The 1928 Honest Bill show had six. Mighty Haag, Orton Bros.



Bobby Gibbs and his camels on the Big Apple Circus in 1988. Big Apple photo.

and Seils-Sterling each carried two of the beasts. Wallace Bros. had two in 1944. Bud Anderson had four in 1945.

Occasionally the camels performed, often pulling a cart, as was the case on Gentry Bros. in 1917. In the 1930s and 1940s Nellie Dutton presented her high school camel "Bagdad." She was with Dailey Bros. in 1944.

Jack Joyce, a well-known horse trainer, worked camels for many years. His father, Buffalo Jack Joyce, was a horse trainer on the Buffalo Bill Wild West. The elder Joyce and his family remained in Europe fol-

Dave Hale with his sixteen camel hitch in the 1996 Great Circus Parade in Milwaukee.



lowing the 1907 Bill show tour. The Joyce family remained in Europe until 1924 when they brought liberty and high school horses to play American vaudeville. In 1927 the elder Joyce received a telegram from the Ringling-Barnum show inviting him to take over the training of its equines. The father had no interest. Young Jack, seeing a wonderful opportunity, responded identifying himself as Jack Joyce. When the young man appeared to sign a contract John Ringling was shocked. But he gave Joyce Jr. the job.

Joyce stayed with the big one until 1931 and then worked for other shows. His first contact with performing camels was on the Al G. Barnes Circus in 1934. In 1938 he began a six-year stint in Hollywood as an animal trainer and handler. Most of his work was with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Joyce was with the Wirth Circus in Australia in 1948.

While in Australia he bought fifty camels for 20th Century Fox for use in their Biblical spectacle *David and Bathsheba*.

Early in 1950 Joyce began making plans to train and present a camel act. The September 1, 1951 *Billboard* published a Joyce interview: "Jack Joyce makes camels walk miles for him. And this puts him in a class by himself, as his four-dromedary liberty act on Polack Bros. Circus is the only one of its kind in America today.

"The camels started walking, professionally on July 20, 1950 when

Joyce began training them in preparation for the show's opening in Hammond, Indiana on January 22. Working with green animals, Joyce had no idea how much could be accomplished in the way of a finished act. There had been camel acts on other shows, but Joyce had never seen them. Then, too, there was an opinion expressed by many that the animals were incapable of training. With an unknown goal, the humped beasts were put through their paces for six and eight hours daily.

"Joyce was quick to find that his charges, which he had brought from Australia with 16 others for Louis Goebel, a Thousand Oaks, California animal dealer, learned much the way any other animal does. The main problem was to get them receptive to training. These ships of the desert didn't want to be launched.

"Training was not started until the act had been sold to Louis Stern of the Polack organization. With the go-ahead from that showman, Joyce adapted for his camels some of the tricks done by liberty horses and some done by elephants. While the marching in single, double and quadruple files may seem to be imitations of those turns done by horses, Joyce advises that doing it with camels is far different. His animals also do pedestals, often with more vigor than the horses.

"Now that the animals are trained and well on their way in show business, Joyce has no fear of the act being duplicated. And as the act is new, Joyce knows from experience that bookers will not buy something they have never seen. When he wrote agents offering them the camel act, all answers followed the same pattern: 'Where have you played? Let's see some clippings on the act.' Joyce can show reviews today, but now he doesn't need them because the act has work for the next several years.

"Had it not been for Stern there would be no camel act today. Stern thought it was an excellent idea, particularly for his show. As that circus appears mainly under sponsorship of the Shrine, which accents Arabian symbolism, the camels afford an



Micah Williams and six Dave Hale camels at the Circus World Museum in 2003. Circus World Museum photo.

additional selling point. Stern backed up his way of thinking with a sizable sum, reported to be about \$35,000 a year. Joyce went to work. The opening in the Indiana city told what happened, except that animals do a much better act than he had anticipated. Although he has the only act of its kind Joyce is not resting on his laurels. This is the first time he has ever carried a spare. When he handled liberty horses, he always felt that another animal could be picked up almost any place and be made ready for the act in not more than 60 days. With camels it is different. They have to be imported, and that alone takes time and money. To guard against interruptions in his act, Joyce had a young camel that goes along mainly for the ride and gets into the act only occasionally. But having an understudy to a camel gives Joyce peace of mind. Having the spare ready in case a regular can't work is worth the cost of extra feed and transportation, he believes.

"The extra animal made several appearances recently when one of the cows calved. Another calf was born on the train while the show was en route from Indianapolis to Santa Rosa, California earlier this year."

A camel and llama act appeared in the Disneyland Circus in 1955. In 1956 John Herriott broke an exotic animal act for the Gil Gray Circus consisting of two camels, two guanacos, two buckskin quarter horses a mouflon sheep and a monkey. In 1962 Jack Mills bought the Gil Gray

camels and Herriott again presented it. The Mills Bros. "Dromedary Delight" consisted of four camels, a llama and a pony. Herriott left the show at the close of the season. The camel act continued on Mills through the 1966 season, presented by Paul Nelson.

Jack Joyce presented three camels and a zebra on Ringling-Barnum in 1967 and 1968. In 1968 and 1969 Bucky Steele worked six camels while riding a horse on the Gil Gray Circus.

Elephant trainer Wally Ross presented two camels and two llamas on Circus Vargas in the 1970s. John Herriott trained a camel, zebra and llama act for the Toby Tyler Circus in 1985. In recent years Laura Herriott has presented an exotic animal act the included a camel. Roy and Cindy Wells have an act with two camels, two llamas and two horses. In 2002 the Ringling-Barnum Circus presented two camel acts. Rick Boger had four camels and four llamas and Ivan Vliadimirove had four camels and four horses.

Dave Hale is "America's Camel King." He has over fifty of them on his ranch near Cape Girardeau, Missouri. Hale buys and sells camels and rents them out for parades and Christmas pageants. In recent years Hale has driven a sixteen camel hitch in the Great Circus Parade. Micah Williams presented six of his camels in the Circus World Museum performance in 2003. This act is scheduled to be in the Big Apple Circus in 2004.

As camels are good breeders they have remained off any endangered species list. An animal as tough and resilient as a camel deserves to live on. A somewhat historic event took place at Winston-Salem, North Carolina on September 29, 1913. The Barnum and Bailey Circus was in town, and an aged male dromedary camel named Old Joe was used in making some still photographs. One shot was so exceptional it became the trademark for Camel cigarettes. The slogan "I'd walk a mile for a camel" became internationally famous.

The Circus Historical Society Convention Peru, Indiana July 16-19, 2003

By Robert Sabia

They said it couldn't be done. The large metropolis of Toronto, Canada was one thing, having so much to offer to satisfy the many diverse interests of circus historians. But Peru, Indiana was quite another matter. It is literally a dot on the map, a town of 13,000 folks, who had a passing interest in the circus, perhaps 50 or more years ago. It did not appear to offer any great prospects. But perhaps some of us underestimated the large skills of Master Chef Al Stencell in putting together a superb array of entries that would completely satisfy any appetite of the circus historian.

In reflection, one can just picture Chef Al laboring over a large black cauldron from the Ben Wallace Show, fired by several pieces of wood from a just discovered 1929 Sells-Floto center pole. In the smoke, images of Tom Mix, Mable Stark, Poodles Hannaford and the Flying Arbaugh Troupe could be seen if you looked closely enough. Chef Al had a potpourri of ingredients at the ready. Into the mix he inserted a couple of circuses performances, a county museum that was ready to meet the

varied needs of the hoard of historians whose interests might even extend beyond the circus; try Broadway composer Cole Porter as a thought, included a circus parade that is the measure of any today, blended a private concert of a 35 piece band that augmented, or better yet, enhanced several papers on two circus composers and band directors, stirred in a fulfilling visit to a circus museum of note, and added a meaningful dash of auction activities that had the traditionally penurious circus historians reaching deep into previously unexplored areas of their pockets for spare cash. As if the foregoing wasn't enough, he garnished the offerings with a healthy array of papers, all of which received the riveted attention of the audience. With such a repast, was there any appetite unsated? We think not. Chef Al clearly did it again. In fact he bested Toronto and we all were so glad that he did so in beautiful downtown Peru. Because we feasted on relevant circus history in all forms over four straight days, we returned to our sundry homes already planning to attend Chef Al's next convention, wherever it may be. Life is indeed good.

It all started innocently enough during the afternoon of July 16th in the lobby of the Best Western Inn. There President Al Stencell and Treasurer Alan Campbell greeted the almost 70 folks who had previously registered. Lots of social mingling took place with old friendships reinforced and new ones made. In the evening, to the great pleasure of all those who partook, Al Stencell had arranged for fine seats at the Circus City Festival Circus performance. Hard seats and sore rears notwithstanding, it is amazing what these

youthful, non-professional performers accomplished in the circus arts. Vigorous and well deserved applause was noted from all areas of the arena.

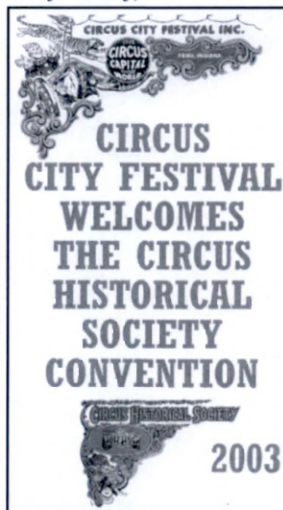
The next morning President Al formally opened this 2003 convention with appropriate remarks of welcome and administrative heads-up. He was followed by a reading of Stuart Thayer's paper entitled "Horseless in Nashville," a most interesting reflection on the tribulations of circusing in Nashville during the Civil War.

Poster printed by the Circus City Festival.

Frequent presenter Fred Dahlinger shared his work-in-progress on the Great Wallace Shows focusing upon some of his (Ben Wallace) notable parade wagons over the years. One senses that there will be more Dahlinger's papers on the Wallace Shows in the future and we will welcome all that he

offers. The morning session was completed with a very interesting photologue by Steve Gossard, focusing on Bloomington, Illinois flyers of note during the first 40 or so years of the 20th century. Good stuff, for sure.

Presenter Cliff Watkins. Judy Griffin photo.





Charles Conrad conducting the 35 piece band. Fred Pfening photo.

The afternoon session had a totally different flavor. It commenced with a long distance traveler from Australia, Peta (no not that PETA) Tait, discussing her theories on female aerialists' accomplishments in the distant past. She observed that the notion of male aerialists first achieving difficult turns is simply a myth. It is Ms. Tait's belief that females frequently led the way but because males controlled the press, such was not always properly recorded. She acknowledged that some of her views were subject to dispute but so be it. Bill Schreiber then presented a very interesting paper on his experiences with "outlaw circuses." In essence what he discussed was the severe damage to the circus industry that these grifting circuses cause, burning up territory that sometimes lasts for a decade or more. As a circus person, he would be delighted that these "outlaw circuses" be eliminated from the business, and the world would be better for it. There wasn't a whimper of disagreement from his audience. The final paper of the day was Jim Alexander, who lives the story of animal training in zoos every day. His commentary peppered with real time experiences which clearly demonstrated that animal training is a daily but enjoyable challenge. Correctly pursued, much can be accomplished in the realm of animal training while ensuring their safety and integrity during the process.

As evening was broached Atlanta personages Ray Gronso and Gordon Taylor continued their annual foray into the art of libation distribution. Once again it was successful in every regard with participants pouring out of the room into the corridor of the Inn to the probable consternation of

the neighbors. But this social disturbance did not last too long because there was the scheduled annual auction of prized circus memorabilia. Suffice it to say after the closing of the auction, Treasurer Campbell had a sly smile on his face as he counted in excess of \$1,750 of revenue to be placed in the CHS coffers, probably not to be seen again in our lifetime. Gone but not forgotten.

Friday, July 18th, was more of the same good news. Diverse papers, all very well presented, all very interesting. Robert Sugarman, Vermonter Extraordinaire, addressed his favorite subject: America Youth Circus, Past, Present and Possible Future. He said so many positive things about the current state of the sundry youth circuses across these United States that this writer had to be restrained from lying about my age and attempting to enroll in such a school. He thinks that an incredible figure of over 2,000 young folks are enrolled annually in one youth circus or another, all benefiting greatly from the experience. A revelation to be sure. Fate then stepped into the program. Howard Jones, who was scheduled to present a paper on Clyde Beatty, took ill the previous week and was unable to attend (where is Dave Price when you need him). Did this untoward event cause consternation in the kitchen of Chef Al? Not hardly, it was like dropping a noodle on the floor—you just pick it up and go on with the servings. He opened his recipe book on Instant Speakers and pulled out a winner by any definition.

Head Trainer Bill Anderson of the Peru Youth Circus spoke for the better part of an hour discussing his background, his involvement with the Peru Youth Circus over the years, and some of the goals and accomplishments of the performers. Being recognized by the Monte Carlo annual circus competition on several occasions is certainly a demonstration of the Peru Circus performer's success story. But there is so much more than just that. It seems that almost every one who partakes in the program grows in confidence and bear-

ing in very significant ways. This growth is often reflected in their achieving difficult goals throughout their adult lives. Few youth programs accomplish so much, so rapidly, as this organization. As an example of skills achieved, Mr. Anderson, presented Miss Kerri Gillespie, who as lyre performer of significance, was recognized for her artistry at this year's Monte Carlo competition. Miss Gillespie talked about her training program, her feelings when she was selected to go to Monte Carlo, and her delight when she won the competition. Her CHS audience collectively had no doubt that she will go far at Florida State in achieving her circus goals.

Wrapping up the morning session was Rick Pfening's paper on African Americans in the Circus. He prefaced his remarks by stating his study was in the early stages of formulation and much more had to be researched and written. He then proceeded to present material in rapid fire fashion that was strangely reminiscent to this writer's listening as a youth to Harry Wisner, and the fastest 5 minutes in sports. Mr. Wisner, a New York sports writer of 50 or more years ago, could cover in exacting detail the first 6 days of creation and the day's activities in sports, all in less than 5 minutes. Rick did even better. He covered an enormous amount of material in the hour or so that he had allotted, all on point, all fascinating. I am not sure he had an opportunity for a single breath during this time, but we were all much more informed because of it.

With the afternoon session it was clear that Chef Al was holding his piece de resistance to the precise moment of glory and the moment

The former King Bros. Circus steam calliope in the parade. Fred Pfening photo.



moment of glory and the moment arrived. Upon our return from the noontime break, there sat a 35 piece band, prepared to serve the varied needs of the conductor, Charles Conrad. Mr. Conrad had written and presented the life story of famous circus band leader, Fred Jewel, and he did so in a most remarkable fashion. As Fred Jewel's music life evolved as a musician, a conductor, and a writer of circus compositions, this evolution was reflected by the assembled musicians playing the compositions with the number and types of bandmen contemplated at the time of the writing. For instance, the 1899 Gentry Bros. Dog and Pony presentation included 11 musicians, the number used on that Show. As Mr. Jewel grew in demand, so did his cadre of musicians until the 1917 Hagenbeck-Wallace ensemble reflected the 35 pieces present this day. Resounding music filled the auditorium as testament to the skills of circus music man Fred Jewel. As if this wasn't enough, Charles Conrad was followed by Professor Cliff Watkins, who has written and is currently writing more about the black side show bandleader George Perry Lowery. It seems that Mr. Lowery had a wonderful reputation as a bandleader. The many overhead pictures depicted not the small, ragtime group of black musicians that many of us recall in the side shows of the forties. Rather, Mr. Lowery's bandmen were uniformed as professionally as the big show band and represented a dozen or more pieces. As we understood it, these side show bands frequently played contemporary compositions to the delight of the audience. Once again, the 35 piece aggregation pleased the CHSers with samples of such music. It could not have been better. Chef Al closed the session with a heartfelt, passionate review of the life of the recently departed Bill English. Many personal reminiscences of Al were reflected in his remarks. A very powerful presentation.

As evening approached there was a street concert wherein the band that played for us was augmented by a host of additional musicians. They played a variety of pieces for the locals who thoroughly enjoyed this treat. It was then off to the nearby

Elks Club for the banquet. The featured speaker was none other than Doug Terranova, a well known showman. Doug had his elephants in town for the circus festival. He also had his very skilled speaking voice in gear which he used to great advantage at the banquet. He had many humorous stories to share and share he did. He gave a wonderful talk which closed a wonderful day. Chief Al closed the evening with a "candy pitch." Distributing candy bars to all. Each piece of candy was in a special wrapper on which was printed a copy of the Fred J. Mack Circus letterhead, as well as a color photo of Fred D. Pfening, Jr., who owned the show in 1955.



Alan Campbell and Richard Reynolds III. Judy Griffin photo,

Before you think that it was all out and over, there was one more full plate in the offing. The next day the Peru circus parade was all that could be imagined in a small town. There were circus wagons pulled by draft horses, ponies and tractors of all makes and descriptions. Animals, wild and otherwise, were seen everywhere. And the kids from the Peru Youth Circus--they were frequently seen displaying their considerable skills. When is the last time you saw 15 or so, 10 year old jugglers doing their thing? Then a few minutes later, as many unicyclists peddling for all they were worth, were performing routines requiring much practice. All of this and more under beautiful skies and perfect temperature. How did Chef Al even control the weather? It isn't as if the weather is merely a different form of a cooking oven. I thought no one controls the weather.

Chef Al somehow knew we hadn't enough so he asked friend Tom

Dunwoody to deliver the coup de maitre and Tom certainly did just that. He opened the Circus Hall of Fame to the by-now tired travelers and his wares enlivened his visitors. Where else can you see the 1934 Hagenbeck-Wallace in the flesh? Why I even saw Jess Adkins in the middle of the display--or did I? Rooms upon rooms of circus lithos and artifacts were on display. There were plenty of takers in our group. Then with a drum roll, a fine professional circus was on and we hurried into the big top for the performance. None were disappointed. They even had a "cat" act. In this case, the cats were of the alley genus but were as ferocious as their larger brethren. Much fun and many skilled turns.

This time Chef Al called it quits and ushered most of the CHSers back to their respective hotels, actually overwhelmed by all they digested over the past several days. It is fair to say that most have never experienced such a scrumptious feast of circling, all superbly prepared and lavishly served. It is little wonder that Chef Al enjoys a truly international reputation for excellence.

But for a few, your Board of Trustees, there was a bit more and this involved a business meeting. The affairs of your organization were closely examined and declared to be in excellent shape. Financially we are just fine. However, there remains much work to do in terms of securing many new members to ensure the future viability of our select group. All of us could do much in this regard by each getting just one new member to join us. Let's do it and prosper. Strong kudos were directed to our tireless, timeless editor, Fred Pfening, Jr.; our recently retired secretary/treasurer who has labored many years keeping us on the straight and narrow path of administrative correctness, Dave Price; and our amazing Judy Griffin who originated our superior web site and maintains it with the finest of care. Without folks like these we would be much less than what we are today. A continuous flow of many, many thanks are due them from all of us.

So there you have it, just a couple of days spent on the banks of the Walbash. Thanks to Chef Al, they could not be better spent.

Frank A. Robbins

A Postlogue

By Robert Sabia

1916 and beyond--long ago and far away.

It was a different time, almost 90 years ago. The world moved slower then. Or at least it seems. But was it really so different? We still have wars although not on such a grand scale; we still have poverty and pestilence; we still have bad guys and good guys; and we still do not have peace of mind. And there are still individuals who vigorously and relentlessly pursue their ambitions and objectives; and many still fail. Even in the remaining small circus business. So these are not so different times after all.

As we may have expected, after the debacle at Salisbury in September, 1915, Frank A. did not exit left and disappear. He talked about starting up all over again, this time with a truck show. However absent any personal resources to finance such an expensive and speculative venture, he had to seek funding from investors and no money was forthcoming. There is no question he still had many, many friends in the circus industry but they were reluctant to invest in a person who had so many failures, notwithstanding his knowledge, work ethic and fine reputation. For many reasons he was not viewed

The Cook & Wilson Circus train unloading. Joanne Joys collection.



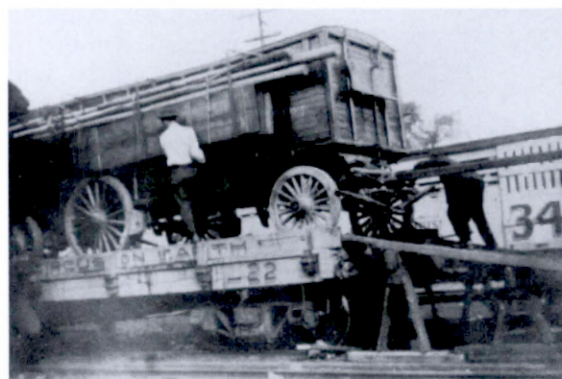
Frank A. Robbins. All illustrations are from the Pfening Archives unless otherwise credited.

as a winner and such a label was mandatory for a show of money. So around the age of sixty, our hero had to find meaningful employment. As noted, his resources were nil and he had a wife to support. Both Winnie and Milton were certainly capable of taking care of their own needs and perhaps to throw some money into the house coffers. But that clearly was not enough so Frank A. did what he always did, worked, this time

mostly in the carnival business and from time to time on circus related activities. For instance, in 1916 it is believed that for at least part of the season, he was on a carnival with a framed show. Late in that year he offered a 25-car circus for sale including 84 baggage horses, 5 elephants, calliope, bandwagon and tableaux. In all probability, he was acting as an agent for the owner. It could have been his old friend, William Hall, who was selling defaulted show property. It clearly was not any of his old circus property because most of that went into the newly formed Cook & Wilson early in 1916. This 14-car enterprise saw an early end to the season, folding in Walton, New York, on August 10 allegedly due to very poor business following a severe polio scare in that region. If it was an ongoing concern, the circus that was for sale may have been the big Al. F. Wheeler railer, which did not prosper during that final year of quasi-peace in America.

During the early part of 1917 Frank A. was in charge of the advance for the newly formed George A. Hamid circus with the grand title of "Hamid's Oriental Circus, Wild West and Far East Shows Combined." This was a small overland

Letterhead used by George Hamid in 1917.



circus that was formed in Warren, Ohio. It was not unlike Frank A.'s first circus back in 1881. Hamid was a youngster of 21 with lots of energy and somewhat short on show ownership experience. It did not take long before the show started to fall behind its paper for a multiplicity of reasons. His book *Circus* describes his trials and tribulations during this initiative. He mentions Frank A. only casually in this tome. However, in a letter dated 24 October 1969 to the late CHS Frank Mara, he placed different slant to his Oriental Circus demise. It reads in pertinent part "The story you enclosed covered the history of Frank Robbins pretty well with the exception that it did not include what, I believe, was his last services as an advance agent. Unfortunately, Frank had a weakness--which I do not wish to express--which contributed to the failure of my circus. We were travelling through Ohio and Pennsylvania. Frank Robbins was the advance man setting up the route, and when we reached Rochester, Pennsylvania, we found our paper was all at the Express Office and no further bookings consummated. Therefore, we were forced to try and wildcat by booking from day to day. It was a disastrous experience, and poor Frank was in no condition to be of any help. My circus folded at the Duquesne University grounds within two months after we opened in 1917." Despite this disaster, George Hamid spoke very highly of Frank A. and thought him to be a wonderful showman who put on the very best of performances for the circus going public.

Frank A. continued to work primarily on carnivals for the remaining few years of his life. However, he did take out some time to be back into the circus limelight when the opportunity blossomed. For instance, early in 1918, Frank A., aided and abetted by his wife, Mattie, and daughter, Winona, put together the sale of the J. H. Eschman 10 car Circus at Kansas City, Missouri. The

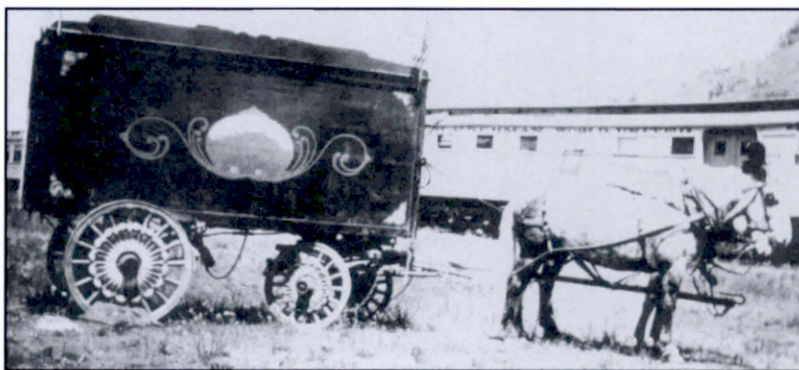


Winona Robbins with the Clark and Conklin Shows in 1917.

actual auction took place on 30 January 1918. Apparently it was a great success with over 500 attending, many of whom vigorously bid for the rail cars, wagons, sundry animals and baggage horses being offered. So there were some good days to be had.

The end was not so neat and clear. During the latter part of 1920, Frank A. was on the advance of James M. Benson Shows (carnival). He was staying at a hotel in Andrews, South Carolina, on 10 October. For whatever reason, he climbed onto the hotel roof and fell through a skylight, some twenty feet to a landing. Although it appeared that his injuries were not serious, that was not the case. His condition suddenly worsened and his family was sent for on Tuesday, 12 October. But he did

The train and a tableau wagon of the J. H. Eschman Circus in 1917.



not last long enough for final good-byes as he died at noon the next day. Mattie and Winnie arrived later in the day. A life worth living was snuffed out in a surrealistic fashion, perhaps in an unappreciated manifestation of showmanship. He was buried at "The Old Jersey City Cemetery" in that city. None of his family is buried with him.

His wife Mattie continued to live in Jersey City for a number of years after her husband's death. Through much of that time she lived at the family home with Winnie who was employed as a secretary. In 1926, *Billboard* mentioned that Winona was engaged to a Cyril M. Wilson of Brooklyn. It is not known if marriage followed. It is known that Winnie did marry an Arthur Willing. They resided in Hollywood, Florida. Mattie apparently lived with them until a worsening health condition caused her to relocate to a convalescent home in nearby Fort Lauderdale where she died 28 May 1950. She was 79 years old.

Son Charles continued in the circus business, primarily as a performer who specialized as a trick rider and knife thrower. He died at the young age of 47 of pneumonia in February 1925. He left his wife, Rose Bennett Robbins, and a daughter, Frances. He is also buried in Jersey City.

Son Frank A. Jr. also had a very long career in the circus business. He repeatedly took out small circuses, which were never very successful. Then he moved or at least operated out of Canada. He owned and operated one-ring circuses and side shows on the large Bill Lynch carnival for many years and apparently did very well. He married and later divorced Caroline Volkman. He died in 1966. Their son, Frank A. III, was brought up in Jersey City not too far from the Frank A. Sr.'s Prospect Street home, but almost never saw his grandfather; such was the schism in the family. Frank A. III became a captain in the



Milton Robbins manager of the Dailey Bros. Circus side show in 1947.

Secaucus, New Jersey police department. His daughter, Joan, (Frank A.'s great granddaughter) also lives and prospers in Secaucus.

The youngest son and the one most vividly remembered by many CHSers was Milton. After the closing of his father's circus, Milton remained in the circus business until 1981 when he died. Milton was almost always an official of the circus in which he was then connected. He often managed the side show but was also an equestrian director, pit shows operator, legal adjuster and announcer. He completed his lifetime career

Milt Robbins making a side show opening on Hoxie Bros. Circus.



with Ward Hall's operation. He enjoyed the friendship of Ward for many years commencing in 1946 when Milton had the side show on Dailey Bros. Circus and Ward joined up as a 15 year old ready to make his millions. He and his first wife, Mildred, had two daughters. One daughter, Jane, died as a 4 year old. His other daughter, Maxine, married a Thomas Keating and lived for years in Gatlinburg, Tennessee. His second wife, Ena, joined him on the Dailey Show and travelled with him for many seasons.

In 1980 Milton attended the CHS convention at Baraboo, Wisconsin, and spoke to the assembled CHS masses. At that time, he gave the Circus World Museum several route books from his father's circus.

How does one wrap up a story about an individual or his progeny? To acknowledge their existence in writing is perhaps more than most get. On the other hand, because we have been so involved with many of the family members, it somehow doesn't seem enough. Let us just say we have been pleased that they lived their story, and to the small extent

that we have been able, that we were permitted to share it. Life continues.

Many thank yours.

At the outset, I had thanked those many folks that got this series started. They all continued to support these efforts throughout the process. These individuals include Frank Mara, Ted Bowman, Fred Pfening III, John Polacsek, Richard Flint, Richard Reynolds III, Cam Cridlebaugh, Jr., Frank A. Robbins III, and Joan Robbins. During the writings, Ken Harck, Fred Hoffman and Paul Horsman also willingly stepped forward with valued information from their collections.

Of course, Fred Pfening, Jr. and Fred Dahlinger did their normal thing of always being there when you needed them, always giving more than was asked of them. My wife Susan suffered through the redrafts and the editing with patience and aplomb, ever helpful. Lastly, there will never be another Joe Bradbury. His generous comments were never ending. He simply was the best. And finally, thank you Frank A. for living your life as you did.

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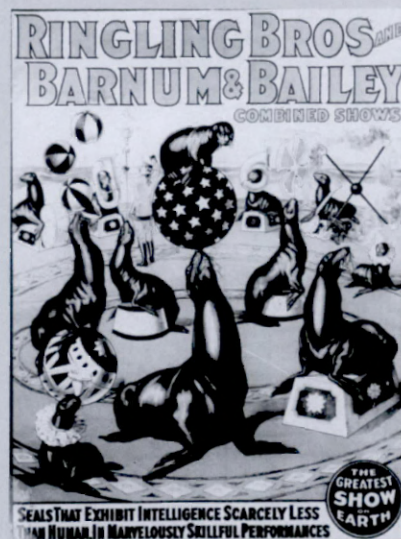
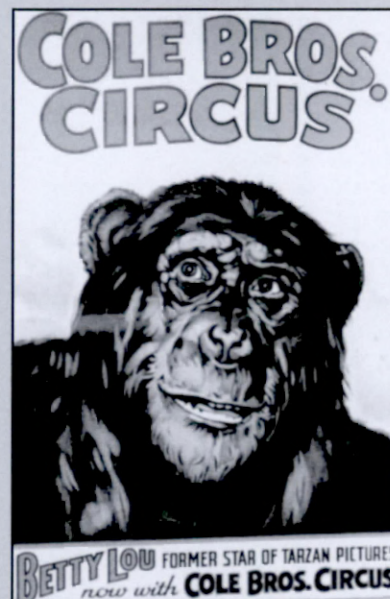
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Side Lights On The Circus Business

PART THIRTY

By David W. Watt

Editor's note. The dates listed are the days the article appeared in the Janesville, Wisconsin Gazette.

September 2, 1916

Tody Hamilton, the peer of all press agents in the circus business who have visited Janesville times without number, is dead and gone. Whisper it softly with bated breath as another genial soul has passed over the great divide between life and eternity. His friends are found in every newspaper office in the country.

The prince of all press agents, a veteran journalist, the "bon vivant," whose baptismal name was Richard Francis Hamilton, yet known to all the world as "Tody" Hamilton, departed this life on August 16 at the home of his brother-in-law, Howard Gibson, 3628 Old York Road, Baltimore, Md., where he had resided for some time with his sister, Mrs. Gibson, who died early last autumn. By the urgent appeal of Mr. Gibson, Tody and his wife, Mrs. Emma E. Hamilton, who survives him, remained at the homestead of close and congenial friends.

Tody Hamilton was a newspaper man by instinct and training. His father, William C. Hamilton, was the managing editor of a New York paper when Tody was born seventy-two years ago. Tody began his career in a newspaper office at the early age of twelve. He belonged to that school of robust and vigorous young men in places where there was the most danger of personal conflict or something exciting to make a live story with big headlines.

It is said that whenever there was a dearth of real news Tody

could, and often did, start out with a few of his friends and in the course of an evening create enough thrilling items to fill the columns of all the newspapers in old New York. Of great physical energy and winning personality, he made friends everywhere and retained them because of his purely democratic character and merry demeanor. Having known him intimately and worked by his side, the writer is familiar with his many strokes of genius and personal character which must go down in history to his credit. Always open-handed and liberal to a fault, he stood among his fellows like a colossus to best ride this narrow world. Mentally

R. F. (Tody) Hamilton, a dean of circus press agents. All illustrations are from the Pfening Archives.



and physically a towering giant among the pygmies, yet withal the prince of good fellows to whom an unmanly act or deed was unknown. Prolific in ideas and writing he piled up alliterations and adjectives like cordwood and found unlimited pleasure in coining new words or reconstructing old ones into telling phrases while his imaginative genius swept the intellectual horizon like an aeroplane.

As an entertainer Tody had no equal. Always the same congenial, convivial companion. An epicure, a connoisseur, he lacked nothing in hospitality, and with a fund of rich stories or anecdotes, no party ever became dull while the corks popped and the banquet table stood up under the burden of good things.

He was a life member of the New York Press Club, and the newspapermen of America gave him a testimonial at the Waldorf-Astoria when he retired from the Barnum & Bailey show in 1906.

Now Tody Hamilton is dead. The last chapter in a busy and eventful life has been written, but before the book is closed, let it be said that a more congenial spirit never winged its way to the great unknown. If every friend were to cast a rose upon his grave, he would be buried in a wilderness of flowers. No greater tribute can be paid to his memory than the knowledge that loyalty was one of his most divine virtues. The word paintings from his own masterly mind will prove lasting lessons for generations yet to come, and those now living who knew him best will bear me out in the

assertion that, "We shall never look upon his like again."

For many years I have numbered Tody Hamilton among my old friends. I first met Mr. Hamilton at the opening of the great Forepaugh show in Washington, D. C., on April 6, 1882. The show opened there in a blinding snowstorm and I have seldom seen it snow harder for nearly an hour than it did then. But soon the sun shone and the snow was gone almost as quickly as it came. While Tody Hamilton was not connected with the show in any way, he was there at the opening and grasped the opportunity of writing an article for a Washington paper in which he said that Adam Forepaugh was the first showman who dared to open a winter circus for a season in Washington. The article, which was more than a column long, was written as only Tody Hamilton could write, for in all his work he was original and unlike all others.

It was in the spring of '87 that I became intimate with Tody Hamilton at Madison Square Garden, New York, where the Barnum and Forepaugh shows were combined for eight weeks. The main business office was on the Madison Avenue side and mine on the Fourth Avenue side which was only a small one. Here could be seen every afternoon and evening twelve or twenty of the proprietors of both shows and heads of departments, many of them even at that time talking over instances that happened years before, but this did not seem to appeal to Tody Hamilton. It was in my office where he could be quiet and there would be no one to disturb him, that he spent much of his time. For the eight weeks that we showed in the Garden two famous men made their headquarters here every afternoon and evening. These men were Robert Pinkerton of the Pinkerton detective agency who had charge of the main office in New York City, and Tody Hamilton.

Tody was naturally nervous and always on the move, and one day he came in the office and sat down in an easy chair. It must have been fifteen or

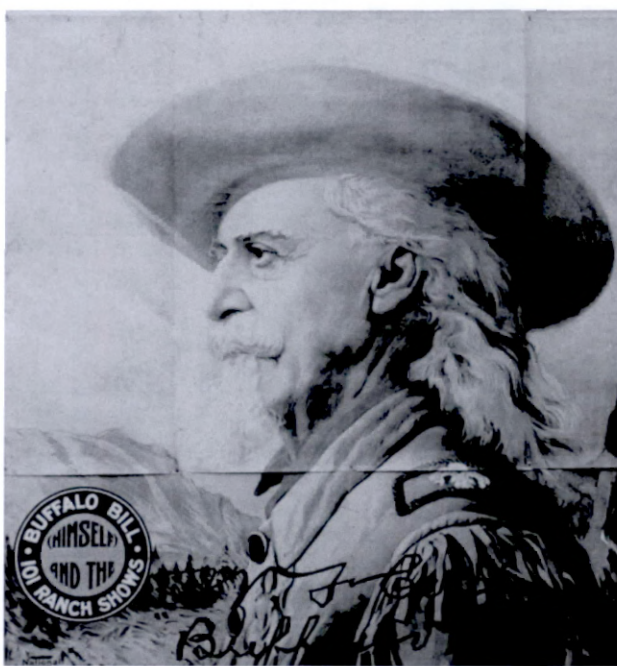
twenty minutes before he moved or spoke. This was so unlike him that I turned around and said, "Tody, what's the matter? Are you sick?" "No," said he, "I'm just taking a rest." "Well," I said, "you must not stay too long in one place or you might rust out." For twenty minutes was a long time for Tody Hamilton to stay in one place.

At that time famous men did not appeal to me particularly, for it was the Vanderbilts, the Astors, Frank Leslie and many others who for years had been famous the world over, some of whom could always be seen at the show afternoon and evening.

But Tody has published his last press notice and the world will be older before we see his like again.

Speaking of press agents, I must tell you a little story of my short service in the business. It was in '78 or '79 with the Burr Robbins show that I would have to look after the newspapers. That meant that I was to go to the newspaper offices in the morning, pay the bills, give the newspapermen their complimentary tickets, gather up the cuts that had been used in advertising and tell them that I would be at the main entrance of the show afternoon and evening and see that they were all cared for with the best seats in the house. But

William F. Cody with the Buffalo Bill-101 Ranch Wild West Show.



this did not seem to bring the long press notices after that show had left that Mr. Robbins thought it might, so one day he told me that he would look after the newspaper himself. The first newspaper that he called on was in a small town in the West and was a weekly publication. The editor evidently felt honored by a visit from Mr. Robbins. A week later we received one of his papers in which he published the life history of Burr Robbins and his sudden rise in the show business.

Along later in the season we showed in East St. Louis, just across the bridge from St. Louis proper. After the afternoon show had commenced, Mr. Robbins drove around with his horse and carriage and told me that he wanted me to ride to St. Louis with him. I told him that I had some men repairing the horse tent and I did not have time to go. "Never mind the horse tent," said Mr. Robbins. "The men can finish that work without you and you come along with me." After crossing the bridge we zigzagged around among the manufacturing part of St. Louis and finally he halted and called my attention to a window in an old brick building which was occupied by a manufacturing concern and said: "Dave, I worked in front of that window up there for a year at 85 cents a day and had to board and clothe myself out of that, and that is the way I started in life."

He had driven me over there simply to show me the way he had commenced, and as for the ending, he knew that I was well aware of that part.

"But," he said, "what do you think of that?"

"Well," I said, "Mr. Robbins, if the time ever comes that I have as much money as you possess today, I can tell you a story of the beginning of my own life that beats that, but I am too poor to tell it now, and so you will have to wait for the story of my early beginning until I get more of this world's goods, for that is when these stories sound the best."

The 101 Ranch-Buffalo Bill combined shows encour-

tered two very bad days last month, the first at Stamford, Conn. and the second at Mt. Vernon, N. Y. due in both instances to the prevalence of infantile paralysis which has resulted in a ban against children under 16 years of age attending shows or performances. In addition to the epidemic embargo in Mt. Vernon, the lot was located some six or seven blocks from the nearest street car line, accessible only by one road, and to cap the climax, it rained. Aside from these two dates the 101 Ranch outfit has been playing to fairly good business.

John G. Robinson's elephants will likely be with the Santos & Artigas circus in Cuba this fall and winter. As there has not been an elephant on the island in five years, they will not only prove a big feature, but a great attraction in parade.

September 9, 1916

It is very often that you will hear people say, "If you want to see all of a great circus, you must go in the afternoon."

Now this is a mistaken idea. Only a short time ago I heard a lady say to some friends, "We always go to a circus in the afternoon and have for years. Why," she said, "do you know that several years ago we went to see the Barnum show in the evening and shortly after seven o'clock, long before the evening performance commenced, they commenced taking many of the big wagons to the railroad yards where they were loaded and ready to leave for the next town."

She did not stop to think that there were probably fifty big wagons connected with the cook tent and other privileges around the show that had nothing to do with the big show and it was necessary to load them and get them out of the way before the menagerie or the big top was torn down.

In my time in the business I have known in cases of long runs from one town to another that the show would be hurried through, but in all cases every act would be given in the evening just the same as in the afternoon.

Only a few years ago the great Ringling show exhibited in Salt Lake City on Saturday and their Monday stand was at Reno,



A Downie & Wheeler dinner break on a long Sunday run.

Nevada, a distance of 576 miles. This was one of the longest runs ever made by a show in the same length of time. The show arrived at Reno shortly after four o'clock in the morning and while a great show like this has to make more or less long runs in that country, the run from Salt Lake to Reno, I think, is the longest in history.

While visiting with A. D. Burdick of Milton a few days ago, I happened to mention the fact that I had a long visit with Madam Dockrill during their stay here at the Janesville fair. The old man's eyes brightened and he said, "You don't tell me! Is it possible that Madam Dockrill was in Janesville the week of the fair?"

Mr. Burdick dates back to the early days in the show business when Barnum, Forepaugh and Dan Rice were still young men in the business and for some years Burdick was the private groom of Madam Dockrill when she first came over to this country from Europe. Mr. Burdick said that it was seldom that he did

The marquee of the 1916 Coop & Lent rail show.



not come to Janesville on Saturday, but as he was not feeling well at the time, he missed fair week.

"But I would have been to Janesville and made a visit with Madam Dockrill at that time if I would have had to walk," he said, "for nobody in the show business was ever nicer to me than R. H. Dockrill and his wife. I was the first American groom to take charge of their horses after their arrival here.

"I know that Madam Dockrill and I could have visited over the old days of more than forty years ago and one that neither of us would ever have forgotten."

If there is dew on the ground in Oak Park today, it is because the grass and flowers are shedding tears in sympathy with half the youngsters in the suburb who were cheated out of circus day yesterday.

For every growl of the lion, there were a hundred "boo hoos" from the childish population. Over on the circus lot Coop & Lent's magnificent exhibition of colossal monstrosities was tied up tighter than a wet drum-head in the sunshine because of various attachments, writs, suits and other legal anchors.

The circus had completed a tour of Canada, where a war tax on every ticket cost the management some \$20,000. The greatest three-ring aggregation has been trying to recoup. The creditors admit it, but deny they are willing to be the recoupers. Hence a butcher from Kansas City, a hay dealer from Iowa, and the provender dealers from other distant points plastered the circus with writs.

Presently there was a battle and the police were called. "Hey Rube," resounded from the horse tent, the grub house and the big top. The

conflict was short and swift. The circus went into winter quarters and the youth of Oak Park, denied the joy of the tinsel, the clown and the hip-podrome, went sobbing to bed.

Through Mr. and Mrs. Collier, who were with the Coop & Lent show during the season, I got the above information as to the closing of the show. Their trip through Canada, said Mr. Collier, was a disastrous one for everything in the way of license and all kinds of foodstuffs for the people. When the people commenced to go to the show, they not only had to buy their ticket for the big show, but in addition, had to pay ten cents extra which was called a war tax. Every ticket sold for the sideshows at 10 cents each, they had to buy a war ticket, which cost one cent. After the show closed for the season in Oak Park, Ill., everyone connected with the show was paid off in full and every dollar the show owed was paid. The show left for Cedar Rapids where it went into winter quarters and will be remodeled and started out next season bigger and better than ever before. But it is fair to say that it will be some time before the Coop & Lent show or any other circus will invade Canadian territory.

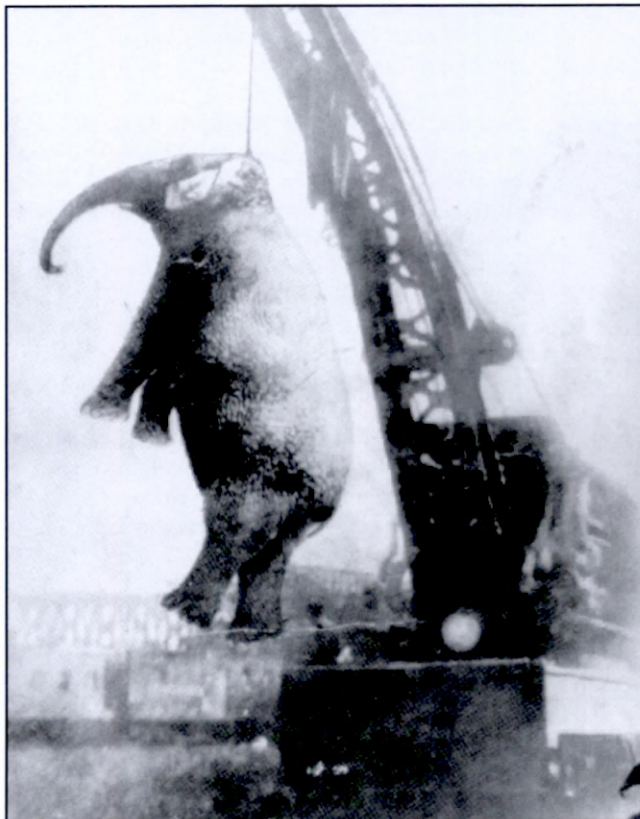
September 16, 1916

On Saturday last with many others I took the special train for Monroe to take a look at the Green County fair and circus, for today at all high class county fairs, they have so many high class circus acts that more than half the time one might think that they were at the circus. The long special train, after making several stops, pulled into Monroe shortly before 11 o'clock, every car filled and people standing on the platform. As there were no buses or jitneys to meet the people, the great crowd left for the public square which was the nearest place possible to get a jitney for the fairgrounds.

On my way I stopped in to see my old friend, Ted Carroll, who for years has run a grocery store. After elbowing my way through the crowd and

finding a dozen or more steps in the winding stairway, I landed in the private office where I found him playing *It's a Long Way to Tipperary*, or something like that, on his cash register. This was enough to give me a hint that it was a bad place for a visit, but he found time to shake hands and said he knew that I would be there and handed me a clear Havana which I lit and bid him goodbye saying I would try and see him later.

I was soon out into the street again



The hanging of Sparks' Mary on September 13, 1916 in Erwin, Tennessee.

being pushed from one side of the sidewalk to the other and sometimes into the street and all without apology. But here I sighted a jitney and was soon inside the fairgrounds where the crowd was still greater than downtown. At 12:15 the ticket man told me that 1,058 automobiles had already passed the gate. Right here I want to say that the one big feature of any county fair to make it a success must be the people.

I was watching Charles Fish, the great bareback rider, one day when we had a very light house. Charlie fell from his horse and quicker than

a flash he said, "That is for the empty seats." In two or three seconds the great rider made a leap from the center of the ring and lit standing straight up on the horse's back, turning three or four somersaults and came up smiling and said, "That is for the people." It is a known fact that no great performer in any line can work as well to half a house as he can to one that is crowded to the doors.

But my object in going to the fair was the circus people. I was soon rapping at the dressing door of the Adrienne sisters, a quartet of French girls and the greatest athletes that I have ever seen. The late Al Ringling several years ago christened them "The Flexible Marvels."

I called for the manager and told her I would like to have a talk with her for publication and a brighter, more gracious woman you would seldom meet. Her accent was decidedly French, and as that was beyond me, it took some time for me to understand her story. But her facial expression and excited movement of her hands all helped me to understand what she was trying to tell me.

These four sisters came to America about six years ago under an engagement with the Ringling show and remained here two years

and then went back to France, expecting to play Europe for a couple of years. They again returned to America and this is where the sad story of Lydia Adrienne begins. The girls returned home after the season's work in this country. At this time there were ten in the Adrienne family, father, mother, four brothers and four sisters. The four brothers enlisted and in a short time were at the front fighting for their country. It was not long until two of the brothers were killed in battle and the other two are still in the trenches. Up to a year ago, or about that time, the sisters remained at home as there was no work in that country. In fact, she said, "Every light in Paris for nearly a year before we left had to be out at

five o'clock in the evening and when the war was raging many of the people at home at different times went down into the cellar where many remained for days at a time."

As there was no chance for work in Europe, the girls soon made up their minds that they must get back to America in some way, but in order to reach this country and take the least chances, they had to come by way of Belgium and Holland, and although on a first class vessel, were on the water for twelve days before reaching New York. When I asked her what her parents were doing in France, she said: "They are praying for the boys in the trenches, and we girls are sending home, as you would say in America, the bacon."

Little did the thousands of people who were watching these girls work think of the sorrow that was lurking in their hearts when they gave them a forced smile and a bow to show their appreciation for the cheers that they received.

They told me they were dated up until November and that they liked the fairs much better to work in than the circus, "for you see we only work in the afternoon. We have no long parades in the hot sun and no evening performances and have much more time to rest, which is very needful in our business."

Another high class act was the slack wire given by the Alexander brothers, Harry and Guy. These boys also have been with the Ringling show and put on one of the highest class slack wire acts that I have ever seen. Harry was with Al Ringling at the time of his death. One of the brothers dresses as a girl and looks to be not more than seventeen or eighteen years of age and turns somersaults over a chair balanced on the wire and did many other difficult tricks that would bother the average performer to do on a barn floor. These boys also have engagements up to the late fall. Their permanent home is in Hollywood, California, a suburb of Los Angeles.

A day like last Saturday means more to me than it would to the average person, for it was in and around Juda and Monroe that I spent my boyhood days and where I can always go and find a few old friends that I enjoy a visit with. If I can keep my

sidelights burning, I shall wander back on October 10th when the Limburger is in bloom and join in the dance of the brick and wiener on the old courthouse square.

September 23, 1916

Condemned as having forfeited her right to live under the laws of Tennessee, "Murderous Mary," the big female elephant heading the quintet with Sparks shows was put to death at Erwin, Tenn. last week, the state authorities requiring it.

Having none of the quick poisons at hand, the showmen decided to hang the beast. A derrick car of the Carolina, Clinchfield and Ohio Railway was used. Heavy chains were looped about the elephant's neck and the steam-operated crane lifted the massive form into the air. The beast struggled for quite a while before death finally resulted from strangulation. The showmen are said to have admitted that Mary had slain her eighth man, her last victim being Walter Eldridge, a Virginian, who was gored to death at Kingsport on Tuesday, September 12th. Showmen valued the animal at \$8,000.

While I have known old Mary and her reputation as being a dangerous elephant, I never saw her until a year ago last spring when I visited the Sparks show at Brodhead. For the safety of the public as well as the people with the show, old Mary should have taken the count years ago.

It was back in the middle eighties that the Forepaugh show was to exhibit in Philadelphia, Pa., when one of the elephant men entered the elephant car, and no sooner had he stepped inside the door, when a bad elephant grabbed him with her trunk and soon had him under her feet and crushed him to death.

Although the young man had been warned to be careful of this particular elephant she had been so docile and kind all summer, that he thought her as kind as the rest of the herd. When Adam Forepaugh heard that this elephant had killed the

keeper, he said, "This is the last man she will ever kill."

There was a militia company in the town. The elephant was left in the car, which was run some four miles out of town to a deep gully where the old elephant was unloaded and taken down and chained to a tree. A chalk line some fifteen inches in diameter was drawn directly over his heart and the militia men, three in number, all fired at the same time. The old elephant toppled over dead. When the news spread around the town that the old elephant was to be executed, hundreds of people in all kinds of vehicles were soon on their way to take a last look at the elephant. While most elephants are kind, they are among the wisest of all animals, and when one becomes mean and treacherous, the only thing to do is put them out of the way. For many times they will be kind for weeks and sometimes months, only awaiting their chance to attack their victim.

W. F. Billings of Racine, Wis. died a few months ago at his home in that city. Fred Billings, as all his intimate friends knew him, was a good fellow and something like thirty-five years ago was prominent in circus business. About that time he was assistant manager and press agent with what was known as the Barnum & Costello Circus. At that time Fred

Billings and Dan Costello, whose home was also in Racine, were the closest of friends. But after a few years Mr. Billings thought that the circus was not altogether to his liking and left the show, much to the regret of the proprietors.

Ed Ballard, owner of the Carl Hagenbeck-Wallace Circus.

For nearly 30 years Mr. Billings has been a traveling salesman and as Janesville was one of his towns, Fred and I have had many long visits in the hotel after he finished his work. At the time of his death he was traveling for the Hornthal Funeral Supply Company of Chicago and had been connected



with this firm for seventeen years. During all this time he has been a close wit personal friend of Horatio Nelson of this city,

Mr. Billings died of cancer of the stomach and after he was obliged to take to his bed, he had a telephone where he could reach it and for weeks took orders from his many customers all over the country up to within a few days of his death.

But few men left more friends, both in circus business and out, than Fred Billings.

Charles E. Cory is entirely out of the Hagenbeck-Wallace Circus and Major G. A. Gagg of Terre Haute, the secretary of the corporation, has made the transfer on the books of the company. This action probably means that Mr. Cory is done with the circus business.

Ed Ballard, the chief owner of the show and the man who has bought Mr. Cory's stock, is in personal charge of the show and will doubtless remain the balance of the season. Mr. Ballard is very reticent as to his plans and has not made any formal announcement. It is evident, however, from things done and things not done, since his personal appearance on the job, that he intends to personally supervise the rebuilding of the physical equipment of the show for the next season and that he will direct the reorganization of the show, but the presumption is that after the show has taken the road in 1917, he will turn the road management over to some other individual. Just who this party will be, Mr. Ballard has not stated. The consensus of opinion among circus folks is that it will be R. M. Harvey, and a sort of a straw vote with the show indicates that his selection would be eminently satisfactory to the people with the show.

Mr. Ballard is proving himself a remarkable man. His keen insight, power of concentration, coupled with his unusual pluck and determination, always crowned his efforts with unusual success in the many other varied interests with which he is identified, and there is no reason why he should not attain the same success in the circus business.

I have known C. E. Cory for many years. He is a nephew of Ben Wallace, the original owner, and has been the

active manager of the show for some sixteen years. It is supposed in circus business that his retirement from the show is for the reason that he needs a long rest. It has been known for some time that Mr. Cory's health is not of the best. It is hoped by his many friends that his retirement from the business will prove beneficial.



Charles E. Cory, former manager of Hagenbeck-Wallace.

I had a long visit with Mr. Cory a year ago when the Hagenbeck-Wallace show was in Beloit and he told me at that time that his health had not been the best for some time. That he may soon recover is the wish of a host of friends.

September 30, 1916

In the *Literary Digest*, a high class magazine published in New York and London, there is a four column article giving in minute detail the long and useful work of my old friend, Tody Hamilton and how he worked the great newspapers of the country for free advertising, even after they had refused to publish anything free that pertained to the circus. On his retirement from business a banquet was tendered him by the New York newspapers.

Nine years ago Tody Hamilton retired from active duties as press agent for Barnum & Bailey and instead of marking the change by giving a complimentary dinner to the newspapermen who had accepted his copy long enough to make him rich and famous, he allowed them to give a dinner to him. At that dinner, among other things, he said:

"In my long, useful, truthful, funny and fashionable career as circus press agent, I have no vain regrets and remorse to keep me awake nights. I can lie down with the clear conscience of a man who has done his duty. I have grabbed more space for nothing than any other man you know. Therefore, you are, as representative newspaper men and future publishers, justified in gathering here tonight to entertain me with a bountiful repast in celebration of my retirement from business."

Possibly the most widely known and best-advertised drink before the public for many years is the pink circus lemonade and possibly few people know but little about where it originated or who the man was that first introduced it.

An old friend of mine and a constant reader of the *Side Lights*, handed me the following story a few days ago, saying, "Dave, here is something that might interest you which was sent to me by an old friend, but I will not vouch for its truthfulness."

Away back in the 60's Adam Forepaugh's circus from Philadelphia, while then a rather small affair, strayed so far away from civilization that it ran slap dab into the great American desert. As usual, water was scarce and the lemonade man who occupied a space in the animal tent could not procure any for love nor money. He was in despair. It was during the afternoon performance that on going to the horse tent, W. H. A. Tobey, one of the attaches of the show, noticed a red blanket fall into the barrel of drinking water. It was dyed a deep pink and the horses would not drink it. More in fun than anything else, Tobey called the lemonade man and told him he could have a barrel of pink water. Nobody suspected what a hit it would make. That night pink lemonade made its first appearance and it has been an indispensable adjunct of circuses ever since.

F. H. Jackman of this city returned last week from an extended vacation spent in the northern part of the state and at Petoskey, Michigan he met an old friend of mine with whom he spent many pleasant hours listening to the stories that this man would tell of the forty years or more that he put in the circus business.

His name is John Wilson and he bears the distinction of traveling thirty-seven years with the Uncle John Robinson show of Cincinnati. Mr. Wilson joined the show when he was but thirteen years of age, worked on the candy stands and was errand boy and one that could always be depended upon. He grew up in the business until he became door tender, ticket agent and assistant manager. Although he was never on the salary list Wilson was always paid more salary than anyone connected with the Robinson show.

Wilson is now a man of seventy-four years of age enjoys splendid health and for the past eighteen years has spent several weeks every fall in and around Petoskey, Michigan. Although I had known of Wilson for many years, I lost track of him long ago and the details furnished me by Mr. Jackman were welcome news.

There are three of the Robinson boys still living, John F., Gil and Charlie, all of whom still make their home in Cincinnati.

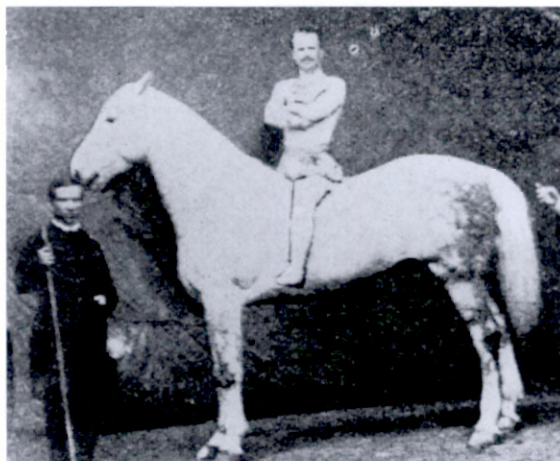
John Wilson retired from the business several years ago and makes his home at the Hotel Savoy in Cincinnati where he prides himself on knowing all the prominent businessmen in the city. He said, "While I don't know all of the newsboys in Cincinnati, the newsboys know me." For many years Mr. Wilson was a close personal friend of the late Richard McLean, publisher of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*.

Mr. Wilson said that in 1861 the Robinson show exhibited in Chicago for one week and their tents were pitched right where the city hall now stands. While he never kept a diary, he can recall many interesting incidents that happened back in the 60's and 70's when the Robinson show was a giant in the business. No circus that ever traveled was so popular through the southern country as was that of Old Uncle John Robinson. A few years ago the sons saw fit to sell the show and it passed into other hands, the price being \$75,000.

October 7, 1916

I have often been asked the question, "Do not the average performers

with a circus, especially the athletes, die young?" I know of no better answer to this than to give you the details as near as possible of the life of the greatest, if not the greatest bareback rider the world has ever known. This man is James Robinson, one of the greatest heroes of the ring. In Australia, Java, London and Berlin he once was the center of interest. He was in Berlin when the present emperor was born. In the good old days when one ring was suf-



James Robinson, a well known rider.

ficiently thrilling and when the attention of the onlookers was concentrated instead of dissipated, then man and horse were required to exhibit skill and nerve to the utmost; then a circus star was a real star. Without bridle or saddle, the horse performed his part and man mastered the beast. But James Robinson did not call his proud and intelligent animal a beast--rather a fellow artist. Recently he spoke of the way in which his horses were wont to rise to the occasion. They always knew the finale, he said. They put forth their best at the last realizing, as well as the rest of the performers, that this was expected of them.

James Robinson was a nephew of the famous showman, John Robinson, and began his circus career at nine years of age. With the exception of time spent in the hospital--once he was an invalid for a period of two years--he followed the profession until he was over fifty. Small and spare, he became a marvelous athlete. He was the first rider to turn a double somersault and the first to dash around a ring carrying a boy on

his head. Nine times around the ring was his act. When asked if it had not been a life of continual excitement, he said: "Yes, all the time excitement, but it got to seem just like a farmer's life."

Dare devil riding surely may be included among the dangerous occupations, and Jimmie had his share of hair-breadth escapes. It was humiliating, then, to come to grief one day while quietly walking the streets of Columbus, O., where he inadvertently stepped into a manhole and suddenly found himself doubled up, his feet above his head.

James is now eighty years old and is a wonderfully young old man. With his wife, who had always accompanied him on his tours, he spends five months of every year at Green Lake, Wis., and the rest of the time in Louisville, Ky. The third of June always finds Jimmie at the lake and his trim, erect figure is a feature of this interesting little resort. Practically every day his launch rides the deep waters, and he is engaged in fishing.

None is more constant in the pursuit of the noiseless art. When asked if his present profession did not seem rather tame compared with the past, he answered: "Oh, its healthy being out in the air so much and there's some excitement when you get a bite."

Mr. Robinson, who was born in Boston, covered his own country both by wagon road--he entered the circus business back in 1845--and later by railroad. He went to Europe three times, remaining there from three to five years. At different periods he toured Australia and the Dutch and British Indies. His tour around the world involved travel by land and water of over five thousand miles. In Australia in 1876, while under the management of Mr. Bailey, some disagreement arose over the completion of the performer's contracts for the extended tour, Mr. Bailey awakening rather later to the fact that it was a long, long way zigzagging around the world and there were disheartening intervals between gate receipts. His famous bareback rider proved he could protect a contract as well as ride a horse; his agreement with the showman had to be respected to the

letter. The irony of it was that the contending parties went to the same lawyer for legal advice. However, this was a brief moment of friction between them and it did not disrupt a long and close friendship. Mr. Robinson looks upon Mr. Bailey as the great showman and spoke of him with more enthusiasm than he did of Barnum and gave details illustrative of Bailey's daring, foresight management and his general trustworthiness.

Jimmie has reached the age of four score without the aid of intoxicants of any sort. He is an excellent advertisement of abstinence, or of outdoor living or of both. His eye is clear, his gaze direct, and his movements, if slow, are sure. His wit is neat and ready, but his kindness does not allow of its use for a weapon. One is immediately impressed by the cleanliness and the dignity of this little old man, a dignity compounded of self-respect and a friendly intention and a proper reserve.

Word was received in Janesville a few days ago of the death of Mrs. Laura Webster, mother of Mrs. Burr Robbins. Mrs. Webster died at her home in Lawrence, Mich., where she had lived for more than sixty years. She was a woman beloved by all who knew her. Mrs. Webster was ninety years of age and had lived those many years in perpetual sunshine. If a dark cloud ever passed through her life, no one knew it but she. In the late seventies and early eighties she spent several winters as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Burr Robbins in Janesville, and many of the old residents will learn of her death with regret.

Lawrence, Mich. is a small town about seven miles from Paw Paw, where the Burr Robbins show went into winter quarters in 1883. Burr Robbins, her son-in-law, two others and the writer were Mrs. Webster's guests to a chicken dinner, and while we were all many years her junior, Mrs. Webster had such a bright, cheery way with her that she seemed the youngest of the party.

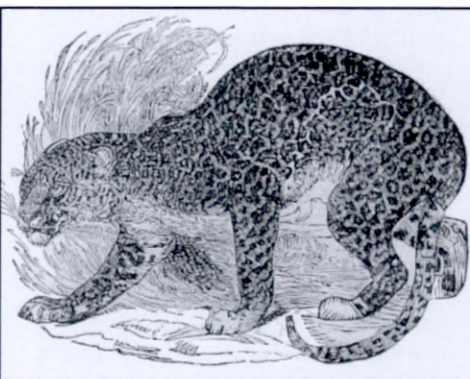
As the season of the circuses is drawing to a close, it might be interesting to the readers of the Side Lights to know where the great shows will winter. The Ringling Bros. will make their winter quar-

ters at Baraboo; Al G. Barnes animal circus, Venice, Cal.; Barnum & Bailey show, Bridgeport, Conn.; Cole Bros. World-Toured shows, Hot Springs, Ark.; Gentry Bros. show, Bloomington, Ind.; Gollmar Bros. show, Baraboo, Wis.; Hagenbeck-Wallace circus, West Baden, Ind.; Howe's Great London show, Vandiver Park, Montgomery, Ala.; Sells-Floto circus, Denver Post Building, Denver, Col.; John Robinson's, Vandiver Park, Montgomery, Ala.; John H. Sparks show, Salisbury, N. C.; Sun Bros. show, Macon, Ga.

October 14, 1916

The cold, chilly nights of the last two weeks put me in mind of years ago on salary day when the performers would come after their week's salary. A great many of them would say: "Please, Mr. Watt, can't you give us the closing date of the show?" This was so more particularly with the European performers, for they were anxious to make arrangements with the big boats going back to their home across the water. There were times when a day or two to these people, if they could catch the first boat out, would sometimes get them home a week earlier than it would if they happened to miss this particular boat. Then the average American performer was anxious to know, for many of them had dates for the winter, either in the museums or the vaudeville circuits. Then there was another class in those days that as soon as the Forepaugh show closed, they would take the first boat for Havana, Cuba, where they had engagements for the winter with

The leopard is one of the wild animals trained by Al G. Barnes circus animal men.



Orrin Brothers, who at that time were the Barnum & Firebaugh's of the show business in Havana, Cuba, where they showed in a large building built expressly for that purpose all during the winter. So that practically all the performers with the show were anxious to know just the date the show would close so that they could figure on their work for the winter.

As a rule, Orrin Brothers would have their agents in New York and would have transportation engaged for all the people that they had under contract for the coming season. Although the people were given ample time to make all their winter arrangements, the closing date of the show in most cases was not given out until some three weeks before. The performers were anxious to know this on account of the cold, chilly nights in the dressing rooms, which were anything but desirable. When cold weather set in early, in each of the dressing rooms would be a little campfire to take off as much of the chill as possible, for the average circus performer's wardrobe was not intended for the cold weather.

On Wednesday morning of this week I met an old friend on the street that I traveled with for several years with the Burr Robbins show back in the 70's. This man was C. C. Williams of Fort Atkinson who has been the manager of Hoard's Hotel for several years at Lake Koshkonong. "Cash" Williams, as he was known in the business, and I went back into the 70's and I listened to many an interesting story told by Mr. Williams that I had long since forgotten.

His father before him was a high-class musician and for many years was leader of an orchestra known as Sevens & Williams of Milwaukee. At that time they finished all the high-class music for dances all over this part of the country, and whenever a dancing party was given and Sevens & Williams furnished the music that seemed to be all that was necessary as a guarantee of the quality. "Cash" Williams' first experiences in the circus business were with the band of the Van Amburgh show in '72 when Jerry Ferguson was a half owner and manager of the Van Amburgh show. Mr. Williams remained there two years

and in '74 Johnny Smith of this city organized a band for the Burr Robbins show, which was the first year that Burr Robbins left Janesville with his wagon show.

The band consisted of eight mouthpieces and two drums, and this was the commencement of Johnny Smith's fame as the leader of one of the first small show bands in the country. At the close of the Burr Robbins show in '75 or '76, Mr. Williams met a man by the name of George Sloman of Delavan, Wis., who had been on the road with Leavette's Swiss bell ringers that had lost money and disbanded several of the people in Delavan. Mr. Williams and Mr. Sloman reorganized the company and started out to see if they could not put the company on a paying basis, but as their capital was limited and bad weather seemed to follow them for days, they finally had to close the show in a small town in the northern part of the state. The people had to get back to Delavan and Chicago the best way they could, most of them going on their trunks. Mr. Williams said that this was the last time that he acted in the capacity of owner and manager.

In 1880 his father, L. A. Williams of this city, also joined the Johnny Smith band, and it was many a time during the season that the newspapers in writing up the story would say that the Burr Robbins band was the finest that they had ever heard for one of its size. Their concerts before the show both afternoon and evening were always received with applause.

A letter received a few days ago from Mr. and Mrs. Fred Collier of this city was dated at Winnipeg, Manitoba where they were filling an engagement with nine head of Rhoda Royal high school horses and where they had an engagement for several weeks playing in the principal towns of Canada. In all the theatres in which they had engagements a certain percentage of the gross receipts were [used] as a benefit for the returned soldiers and wounded soldiers. The houses in which they played were filled and the standing room only sign was hung out at every engagement. just how long the



Captain Dutch Ricardo, the featured Al G. Barnes Circus wild animal trainer.

engagement of Collier's will last they did not know, but probably well into the winter.

When the Al G. Barnes animal show was visiting in Janesville early in the season, I gathered much information not only from Al G. Barnes himself, but also from two or three different animal trainers who had become famous in the business. Although in my time in the business I always gave these beasts the right of way, and if they looked as though that was not quite enough, I also apologized. Yet there are men in the business who have not only the patience, but also the courage to train these animals to do many tricks, which would seem impossible. The following story was given to me from one of the trainers with the Barnes show as to the training of the leopards.

The most graceful, agile and attractive member of the cat family is the leopard. Its spotted coat is not only beautiful, but gives its hide considerable value among furriers. Its coloration also acts as a protection, corresponding as it does with the

vegetation in which it hides; the animal is able to easily conceal itself. The leopard is common in Africa and India, living in widely distributed territories in these countries. Next to the lion and the tiger, the leopard is the most formidable flesh-eating animal. It is thoroughly at home in trees, climbing them with the agility of a monkey. It is able to make tremendous leaps and springs.

Leopards are in many ways more dangerous than the lion or tiger. They are aroused with less provocation and are more courageous in their attacks. In size they measure from six to eight feet from nose to tail and weigh from 300 to 500 pounds. Their method of attacking prey is to either spring from a tree or steal through the grass until close enough for the fatal spring--and fatal it usually is, too, for of all the cat tribe, the leopard is the swiftest and surest in its attacks. Their prey is usually the horse, donkey, cattle, sheep, goats and with a pronounced liking for dogs. They will leave any other kind of meat to kill and eat a dog.

In its native haunts this animal is known as a man-eater. Their attacks are attended with the greatest swiftness and cunning. The ravages of the man-eating leopard are greater than those of the lion or tiger as when they kill a victim, the blood from the body only is taken. This seems to suffice their hunger for only the time being and the next day another victim is sought.

Like all other members of the big cat family, no matter how tame, they never cease to become dangerous. For instance, one of the group with the Barnes show, a docile pet it was thought, sprang without warning upon the back of an attendant, burying its claws in the man's flesh, grabbing his neck in his mouth, seemingly bent on making a killing attack. So it is known by the trainers that no matter how tame or well trained the leopard may seem to be, their natural ferocious nature ever exists and may be brought into play at any moment. The leopards exhibited by the Barnes shows are pronounced to be the finest specimens in captivity. They were selected from a large number captured by Mr. Barnes. The finest ones only are chosen to be educated.

RINGLING BROS AND BARNUM & BAILEY COMBINED CIRCUS

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Greatest
Show
On Earth*



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